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C. E. Detmold
A

Philosophical Dictionary.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Without Philosophy, we should be little above the animals that dig or erect their habitations, prepare their food in them, take care of their little ones in their dwellings, and have, besides, the good fortune, which we have not, of being born ready-clothed.

Article ANTIQUITY, Vol. 1. p. 177.

How charming is divine Philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

MILTON'S COMUS, Scene 2.

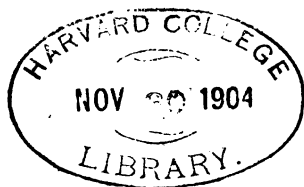
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ERRATA.

Page

- 38, line 9, dele "do" before "Dryden."
- 45, line last, dele "
- 47, line 8, for "malorem," read "malorum."
- 179, line 4, for "318," read "331."
- 186, line 24, for "Nazareens," read "Nazarenes."
- 214, line 3 of first note, for "are," read "is."
- 215, lines 4 and 5 from the foot, for "vende," read "vende."
- 236, line 2, for "deserves," read "deserve."
- 239, line 6 of the note, for "breach," read "broach."
- 249, line 1, for "ever," read "even."
- 264, line 7 from the foot, for "Numerien," read "Numerian."
- 272, line 30, for "and," read "an."
- 273, line 20, for "became," read "become."
- 342, line 7, for "franks," read "francs."
- 356, line 3, dele "to" at the end of the line.
- 357, in the Latin verses, line 2, for "spectore," read "spectare;" and
 line 5, for "certamine," read "certamina."
- 358, in the Latin quotation, first line, dele the full point.
- 361, line 23, for "laid," read "lain."
- 380, line 8, for "agar," read "aga."

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The Muses worse than Ostrogoth or Vandal;
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A

PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY.

BARUCH, OR BARAK, AND DEBORAH;

AND, INCIDENTALLY, ON CHARIOTS OF WAR.

WE have no intention here to enquire at what time Baruch was chief of the Jewish people; why, being chief, he allowed his army to be commanded by a woman; whether this woman, named Deborah, had married Lapidoth; whether she was the friend or relative of Baruch, or perhaps his daughter or his mother; nor on what day the battle of Thabor, in Galilee, was fought between this Deborah and Sisera, captain-general of the armies of King Jabin,—which Sisera commanded in Galilee an army of three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three thousand chariots of war, according to the historian Josephus.*

We shall at present leave out of the question this Jabin, king of a village called Azor, who had more troops than the Grand Turk. We very much pity the fate of his grand-vizier Sisera, who, having lost the battle in Galilee, leaped from his chariot and fought, that he might fly more swiftly on foot. He went and begged the hospitality of a holy Jewish woman, who gave him some milk, and drove a great cart-nail through his head while he was asleep. We are very sorry for it; but this is not the matter to be discussed. We wish to speak of chariots of war.

* Antiq. Jud. liv. x.

The battle was fought at the foot of Mount Thabor, near the river Kishon. Mount Thabor is a steep mountain, the branches of which, somewhat less in height, extend over a great part of Galilee. Betwixt this mountain and the neighbouring rocks, there is a small plain covered with great flint-stones, and impracticable for cavalry. The extent of this plain is four or five hundred paces. We may venture to believe that Sisera did not here draw up his three hundred thousand men in order of battle; his three thousand chariots would have found it difficult to manœuvre on such a field.

We may believe that the Hebrews had no chariots of war, in a country renowned only for asses; but the Asiatics made use of them in the great plains.

Confucius, or rather Confutze, says positively that, from time immemorial, each of the viceroys of the provinces was expected to furnish to the emperor a thousand war-chariots drawn by four horses.

Chariots must have been in use long before the Trojan war, for Homer does not speak of them as a new invention: but these chariots were not armed like those of Babylon; neither the wheels nor the axles were furnished with steel blades.

This invention must at first have been very formidable in large plains, especially when the chariots were numerous, driven with impetuosity, and armed with long pikes and scythes; but when they became familiar, it seemed so easy to avoid their shock, that they fell into general disuse.

In the war of 1741, it was proposed to renew and reform this ancient invention.

A minister of state had one of these chariots constructed, and it was tried. It was asserted that in large plains, like that of Lutzen, they might be used with advantage, by concealing them behind the cavalry, the squadrons of which would open to let them pass, and then follow them; but the generals judged that this manœuvre would be useless, and even dangerous, now that battles are gained by cannon only. It was replied, that there would be as many cannon in the army

using the chariots of war to defend them, as in the enemy's army to destroy them. It was added, that these chariots would, in the first instance, be sheltered from the cannon behind the battalions or squadrons, that the latter would open and let the chariots run with impetuosity, and that this unexpected attack might have a prodigious effect. The generals advanced nothing in opposition to these arguments; but they would not revive this game of the ancient Persians.

BATTALION.

LET us observe that the arrangements, the marching, and the evolutions of battalions, nearly as they are now practised, were revived in Europe by one who was not a military man—by Machiavel, a secretary at Florence. Battalions three, four, and five deep; battalions advancing upon the enemy; battalions in square to avoid being cut off in a rout; battalions four deep sustained by others in column; battalions flanked by cavalry—all are his. He taught Europe the art of war; it had long been practised, without being known.

The Grand Duke would have had his secretary teach his troops their exercise, according to his new method. But Machiavel was too prudent to do so; he had no wish to see the officers and soldiers laugh at a general in a black cloak: he reserved himself for the council.

There is something singular in the qualities which he requires in a soldier. He must first have *gagliardia*, which signifies *alert vigour*; he must have a quick and sure eye—in which there must also be a little gaiety; a strong neck, a wide breast, a muscular arm, round loins, but little belly, with spare legs and feet,—all indicating strength and agility.

But above all, the soldier must have honour, and must be led by honour alone. "War," says he, is "but too great a corrupter of morals;" and he reminds us of the Italian proverb—War makes thieves, and peace finds them gibbets.

Machiavel had but a poor opinion of the French infantry; and until the battle of Rocroy, it must be confessed that it was very bad. A strange man this Machiavel! He amused himself with making verses, writing plays, showing his cabinet the art of killing with regularity, and teaching princes the art of per-juring themselves, assassinating, and poisoning, as occasion required—a great art, which Pope Alexander VI. and his bastard Cæsar Borgia, practised in wonderful perfection without the aid of his lessons.

Be it observed, that in all Machiavel's works, on so many different subjects, there is not one word which renders virtue amiable—not one word proceeding from the heart. The same remark has been made on Boileau. He does not, it is true, make virtue lovely; but he represents it as necessary.

BAYLE.

WHY has Louis Racine treated Bayle like a dangerous man, with a cruel heart, in an epistle to Jean Baptiste Rousseau, which, although printed, is very little known?

He compares Bayle, whose logical acuteness detected the errors of opposing systems, to Marius sitting upon the ruins of Carthage:—

Ainsi d'un œil content Marius, dans sa fuite,
Contemplant les débris de Carthage détruite.

Thus exil'd Marius, with contented gaze,
Thy ruins, Carthage, silently surveys.

Here is a simile which exhibits very little resemblance, or, as Pope says, a simile dissimilar. Marius had not destroyed Carthage, as Bayle had destroyed reason and arguments; nor did he contentedly view its ruins; but, on the contrary, he was penetrated with an elevated sentiment of melancholy, on contemplating the vicissitudes of human affairs, when he made the celebrated answer,—“ Say to the Proconsul of Africa,

that thou hast seen Marius seated on the ruins of Carthage." *

We ask in what Marius resembled Bayle?

Louis Racine, if he thinks fit, may apply the epithets hard-hearted and cruel, to Marius, to Sylla, to the triumvirs, &c. &c. ; but, in reference to Bayle, the phrases *detestable pleasure, cruel heart, terrible man*, should not be put in a sentence written by Louis Racine against one who is only proved to have weighed the arguments of the Manicheans, the Paulicians, the Arians, the Eutychians, against those of their adversaries. Louis Racine proportions not the punishment to the offence. He should remember that Bayle combatted Spinoza, who was too much of a philosopher, and Jurieu, who was none at all. He should respect the good manners of Bayle, and learn to reason from him. But he was a Jansenist, that is to say, he knew the words of the language of Jansenism, and employed them at random. You may properly call cruel and terrible, a powerful man who commands his slaves, on pain of death, to go and reap corn where he has sown thistles; who gives to some of them too much food, and suffers others to die of hunger; who kills his eldest son, to leave a large fortune to the younger. All that is frightful and cruel, Louis Racine! It is said that such is the god of thy Jansenists, but I do not believe it.

Oh slaves of party, people attacked with the jaundice, you constantly see every thing yellow!

And to whom has the unthinking heir of a father who had a hundred times more taste than philosophy, addressed this miserable epistle against the virtuous

* This striking reply appears to have been made for Marius out of the following passage of Lucan :—

Solatio fati
Carthago Mariusque tult, pariterque jacentes
Ignavere Deis.

Carthage and Marius, occupying the same scite, console themselves, and pardon the gods; but they are content neither in Lucan nor in the answer of the Roman.

Bayle? To Rousseau, to a poet who thinks still less; to a man, whose principal merit has consisted in epigrams which are revolting to the most indulgent reader; to a man, to whom it was alike whether he sung Jesus Christ or Giton. Such was the apostle to whom Louis Racine denounced Bayle as a miscreant. What motive could the author of *Phèdra* and *Iphigenia* have for falling into such a prodigious error? Simply this, that Rousseau had made verses for the Jansenists, whom he then believed to be in high credit.

Such is the rage of faction let loose upon Bayle; but you do not hear any of the dogs who have howled against him bark against Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca, Epicurus, nor against the numerous philosophers of antiquity. It is all reserved for Bayle; he is their fellow citizen, he is of their time, his glory irritates them. Bayle is read, and Nicole is not read; behold the source of the Jansenist hatred! Bayle is studied, but neither the reverend father Croiset, nor the reverend father Caussin! and hence jesuitical denouncement!

In vain has a parliament of France done him the greatest honour, in rendering his will valid, notwithstanding the severity of the law.* The madness of party knows neither honour nor justice. I have not inserted this article to make the eulogy of the best of dictionaries, which would not be becoming here, and of which Bayle is not in need; I have written it to render, if I can, the spirit of party odious and ridiculous.

BDELLIUM.

WE are very much puzzled to know what this bdellium is, which is found near the shores of the Pison, a river of the terrestrial paradise which turns into the country of the Havilah, where there is gold. Cal-

* The Academy of Toulouse proposed, some years ago, the eulogy of Bayle for the subject of a prize; but the priests of Toulouse wrote to the court, and obtained a *lettre de cachet* forbidding them to say any good of Bayle. The Academy then changed the subject of its prize, and gave the eulogy of Saint Exupère, bishop of Toulouse.

met relates that,* according to several commentators, bdellium is the carbuncle, but that it may also be chrystal. Then it is the gum of an Arabian tree, and afterwards we are told that capers are intended. Many others affirm that it signifies pearls. Nothing but the etymologies of Bochart can throw a light on this question. I wish that all these commentators had been upon the spot.

The excellent gold which is obtained in this country, says Calmet, shows evidently that this is the country of Colchis, and the golden fleece is a proof of it. It is a pity that things have changed so much for Mingrelia; that beautiful country, so famous for the loves of Medea and Jason, now produces gold and bdellium no more than bulls which vomit fire and flame, and dragons which guard the fleece. Every thing changes in this world; and if we do not skilfully cultivate our lands, and if the state remain always in debt, we shall become a second Mingrelia.

BEARD.

CERTAIN naturalists assure us that the secretion which produces the beard is the same as that which perpetuates mankind. An entire hemisphere testifies against this fraternal union. The Americans, of whatever country, colour, or stature they may be, have neither beards on their chins, nor any hair on their bodies, except their eye-brows and the hair of their heads. I have legal attestations of official men, who have lived, conversed, and combatted with thirty nations of South America, and they attest that they have never seen a hair on their bodies; and they laugh, as they well may, at writers who, copying one another, say that the Americans are only without hair because they pull it out with pincers; as if Christopher Columbus, Fernando Cortez, and the other adventurers, had loaded themselves with the little tweezers with which

* Notes on the second chapter of Genesis.

our ladies remove their superfluous hairs, and had distributed them in all the countries of America.

I believed, for a long time, that the Esquimaux were excepted from the general laws of the new world; but I am assured that they are as free from hair as the others. However, they have children at Chili, Peru, and Canada, as well as in our bearded continent. There is, then, specific difference between these bipeds and ourselves in the same way as their lions, which are divested of the mane, and in other respects differ from the lions of Africa.

It is to be remarked that the Orientals have never varied in their consideration for the beard. Marriage among them has always existed, and that period is still the epoch of life from which they no longer shave the beard. The long dress and the beard impose respect. The Westerns have always been changing the fashion of the chin. Mustachios were worn under Louis XIV. towards the year 1672. Under Louis XIII. a little pointed beard prevailed. In the time of Henry IV. it was square. Charles V. Julius II. and Francis I. restored the large beard to honour in their courts, which had been a long time in fashion. Gownsmen, through gravity and respect for the customs of their fathers, shaved themselves; whilst the courtiers, in doublets and little mantles, wore their beards as long as they could. When a king in those days sent a lawyer as an ambassador, his comrades would laugh at him if he suffered his beard to grow, besides mocking him in the chamber of accounts or of requests.—But quite enough upon beards.

BEASTS.

WHAT a pity and what a poverty of spirit, to assert that beasts are machines deprived of knowledge and sentiment, which affect all their operations in the same manner, which learn nothing, never improve, &c. &c.

What! this bird, who makes its nest in a semicircle when he attaches it to a wall; and in a circle on a tree—this bird does all in the same blind manner. The

hound, whom you have disciplined for three months, does he not know more at the end of this time than he did before? Does the canary, to whom you play an air, repeat it directly! Do you not employ a considerable time in teaching it? Have you not seen that he sometimes mistakes it, and that he corrects himself?

Is it because I speak to you that you judge I have sentiment, memory, and ideas? Well, suppose I do not speak to you; you see me enter my room with an afflicted air, I seek a paper with inquietude, I open the bureau in which I recollect to have shut it, I find it, and read it with joy. You pronounce that I have felt the sentiment of affliction and of joy; that I have memory and knowledge.

Extend the same judgment to the dog who has lost his master, who has sought him everywhere with grievous cries, and who enters the house agitated and restless, goes upstairs and down, from room to room, and at last finds in the closet the master whom he loves, and testifies his joy by the gentleness of his cries, by his leaps, and his caresses.

Some barbarians seize this dog, who so prodigiously excels man in friendship, they nail him to a table, and dissect him living, to show the mezarian veins. You discover in him all the same organs of sentiment which are in yourself. Answer me, machinist, has nature arranged all the springs of sentiment in this animal that he should not feel? Has he nerves to be incapable of suffering? Do not suppose this impertinent contradiction in nature.

But the masters of this school ask, what is the soul of beasts? I do not understand this question. A tree has the faculty of receiving in its fibres the sap which circulates, of evolving its buds, its leaves, and its fruits. You will ask me what is the soul of this tree? It has received these gifts. The animal has received those of sentiment, memory, and a certain number of ideas. Who has bestowed these gifts, who has given these faculties? He who has made the herb of the field to grow, and who makes the earth gravitate towards the sun.

The souls of beasts are *substantial forms*, says Aristotle; and after Aristotle, the Arabian school; and after the Arabian school, the Angelical school; and after the Angelical school, the Sorbonne; and after the Sorbonne, every one in the world.

The souls of beasts are material, exclaim other philosophers. These have not been more fortunate than the former. They are in vain asked what is a material soul? They say that it is matter, which has sensation: but who has given it this sensation? It is a material soul, that is to say, it is composed of a matter which gives sensation to matter. They cannot get out of this circle.

Listen to one kind of beasts reasoning upon another: their soul is a spiritual being, which dies with the body; but what proof have you of it? What idea have you of this spiritual being, which has sentiment, memory, and its share of ideas and combinations, but which can never tell what made a child of six years old? On what ground do you imagine that this being, which is not corporeal, perishes with the body? The greatest beasts are those who have suggested that this soul is neither body nor spirit—an excellent system! We can only understand by spirit something unknown, which is not body. Thus the system of these gentlemen amounts to this, that the soul of beasts is a substance which is neither body, nor something which is not body. Whence can proceed so many contradictory errors? from the custom which men have of examining what a thing is before they know whether it exists. They call the speech the effect of a breath of wind, the soul of a sigh. What is the soul? It is a name which I have given to this valve which rises and falls, which lets the air in, relieves itself, and sends it through a pipe when I move the lungs.

There is not then a soul distinct from the machine. But what moves the lungs of animals? I have already said, the power that moves the stars. The philosopher who has said, "Deus est anima brutorum," was right; but he should have gone much further.

BEAUTIFUL (THE).

SINCE we have quoted Plato on love, why should we not quote him on "The Beautiful," since beauty causes love. It is curious to know how a Greek speaks of the beautiful more than two thousand years since.

The man initiated into the sacred mysteries, when he sees a beautiful face accompanied by a divine form, a something more than mortal, feels a secret emotion, and I know not what respectful fear. He regards this figure as a divinity When the influence of beauty enters into his soul by his eyes, he burns; the wings of his soul are bedewed; they lose the hardness which retains their germs, and liquify themselves; these germs, swelling beneath the roots of its wings, they expand from every part of the soul (for the soul had wings formerly) &c. &c.

I am willing to believe that nothing is finer than this discourse of the divine Plato; but it does not give us very clear ideas of the nature of the beautiful.

Ask a toad what is beauty—the great beauty, the *To Kalon*; he will answer that it is his female with two great round eyes coming out of her little head, her large flat mouth, her yellow belly, and brown back. Ask a negro of Guinea: beauty is to him a black oily skin, sunken eyes, and a flat nose.

Ask the Devil: he will tell you that the beautiful consists in a pair of horns, four claws, and a tail. Then consult the philosophers: they will answer you with jargon; they must have something conformable to the archetype of the essence of the beautiful,—to the *To Kalon*.

I was once attending a tragedy near a philosopher. How beautiful that is, said he. What do you find beautiful, asked I? It is, said he, that the author has attained his object. The next day he took his medicine, which did him some good. It has attained its object, cried I to him; it is a beautiful medicine. He comprehended that it could not be said that a medicine is beautiful; and that to apply to any thing the

epithet beautiful, it must cause admiration and pleasure. He allowed that the tragedy had inspired him with these two sentiments, and that it was the *To Kalon*, the beautiful.

We made a journey to England. The same piece was played, and, although ably translated, it made all the spectators yawn. Oh, oh! said he, the *To Kalon* is not the same with the English as with the French. He concluded, after many reflections, that "The Beautiful" is often merely relative, as that which is decent at Japan, is indecent at Rome; and that which is the fashion at Paris, is not so at Pekin; and he was thereby spared the trouble of composing a long treatise on the Beautiful.

There are actions which the whole world consider fine. A challenge passed between two of Cæsar's officers, mortal enemies, not to shed each other's blood behind a thicket by tierce and quarte, as among us, but to decide which of them would best defend the camp of the Romans, about to be attacked by the Barbarians. One of the two, after having repulsed the enemy, was near falling; the other flew to his assistance, saved his life, and gained the victory.

A friend devotes himself to death for his friend, a son for his father. The Algonquin, the French, the Chinese, will mutually say that all that is very beautiful, that such actions give them pleasure, and that they admire them.

They will say the same of great moral maxims; of that of Zoroaster: "If in doubt that an action be just, desist." Of that of Confucius: "Forget injuries; never forget benefits."

The negro, with round eyes and flattened nose, who would not give the ladies of our court the name of beautiful, would give it without hesitation to these actions, and these maxims. The wicked man even recognises the beauty of the virtues which he cannot imitate. The beautiful which only strikes the senses, the imagination, and what is called the spirit, is then often uncertain; the beauty which strikes the heart is not.*

* This distinction between the operation of physical and moral beauty on the different opinions and tastes of mankind, is

You will find a number of people who will tell you they have found nothing beautiful in three-fourths of the *Iliad*; but nobody will deny that the devotion of Codrus for his people was fine, supposing it was true.

Brother Attinet, a jesuit, a native of Dijon, was employed as designer in the country-house of the emperor Camhi, at the distance of some leagues from Pekin.

"This country-house," says he in one of his letters to M. Dapant, "is larger than the town of Dijon. It is divided into a thousand habitations on one line: each one has its courts, its parterres, its gardens, and its waters; the front of each is ornamented with gold varnish and paintings. In the vast enclosures of the park, hills have been raised by hand from twenty to sixty feet high. The vallies are watered by an infinite number of canals, which run a considerable distance to join and form lakes and seas. We float on these seas in boats varnished and gilt, from twelve to thirteen fathoms long and four wide. These barks have magnificent saloons, and the borders of the canals are covered with houses, all in different tastes. Every house has its gardens and cascades. You go from one valley to another by alleys, alternately ornamented with pavilions and grottoes. No two vallies are alike; the largest of all is surrounded by a colonnade, behind which are gilded buildings. All the apartments of these houses correspond in magnificence with the outside. All the canals have bridges at stated distances; these bridges are bordered with balustrades of white marble sculptured in basso-relievo.

"In the middle of the great sea is raised a rock, and

pleasantly illustrated, and up to a certain point correct. It is to be feared, however, that the one as well as the other is much affected by education and habit; and that the modern doctrine discovered by Hume, and so elaborately developed by Alison, which connects both physical and moral taste,—more properly called sentiment,—with the associative principle, will equally apply to both. It however happens, that, with rare exceptions, the foundations of morality must be similar everywhere,—T.

on this rock is a square pavilion, in which are more than an hundred apartments. From this square pavilion there is a view of all the palace, all the houses, and all the gardens of this immense enclosure, and there are more than four hundred of them.

"When the emperor gives a fête, all these buildings are illuminated in an instant, and from every house there are fire-works.

"This is not all : at the end of what they call the sea is a great fair, held by the emperor's officers. Vessels come from the great sea to arrive at this fair. The courtiers disguise themselves as merchants and artificers of all sorts ; one keeps a coffee-house, another a tavern ; one takes the profession of a thief, another that of the officer who pursues him. The emperor and all the ladies of the court come to buy stuffs, the false merchants cheat them as much as they can ; they tell them that it is shameful to dispute so much about the price, and that they are poor customers. Their majesties reply, that the merchants are knaves ; the latter are angry, and affect to depart ; they are appeased ; the emperor buys all, and makes lotteries of it for all his court. Further on are spectacles of all sorts."

When brother Attinet came from China to Versailles, he found it small and dull. The Germans, who were delighted to stroll about its groves, were astonished that brother Attinet was so difficult. This is another reason which determines me not to write a treatise on the Beautiful.

BEES. *

THE Bees may be regarded as superior to the human race in this, that from their own substance they produce another which is useful ; while, of all our secretions, there

* Huber and others have superseded, by their accurate observations, much of Voltaire's conjecture and remark on the natural history of Bees. His incidental observation being, as usual, extremely pleasant, is retained.

is not one good for anything; * nay, there is not one which does not render mankind disagreeable.

I have been charmed to find, that the swarms which turn out of the hive are much milder than our sons when they leave college. The young bees, then, sting no one; or at least but rarely and in extraordinary cases. They suffer themselves to be carried quietly, in the bare hand, to the hive which is destined for them. But no sooner have they learned, in their new habitation, to know their interests, than they become like us, and make war. I have seen very peaceable bees go for six months to labour in a neighbouring meadow covered with flowers which secreted them. When the mowers came, they rushed furiously from their hive upon those who were about to steal their property, and put them to flight.

We find in the Proverbs attributed to Solomon, that "there are four things, the least upon earth, but which are wiser than the wise men:—the ants, a little people, who lay up food during the harvest; the hares, a weak people, who lie on stones; the grasshoppers, who have no kings, and who journey in flocks; and the lizards, which work with their hands, and dwell in the palaces of kings." I know not how Solomon forgot the bees, whose instinct seems very superior to that of hares, which do not lie on stone; or of lizards, with whose genius I am not acquainted. Moreover, I shall always prefer a bee to a grasshopper.

The bees have, in all ages, furnished the poet with descriptions, comparisons, allegories, and fables. Mandeville's celebrated "Fable of the Bees" made a great noise in England. Here is a short sketch of it:—

Once the bees, in worldly things,
Had a happy government;
And their labourers and their kings
Made them wealthy and content:
But some greedy drones at last
Found their way into the hive;
These, in idleness to thrive,
Told the bees they ought to fast.

* A hasty and incorrect assertion.

BEGGAR—MENDICANT.

Sermons were *their* only labours ;
 Work they preached unto their neighbours.
 In their language they would say,
 " You shall surely go to heaven,
 When to us you've freely given
 Wax and honey all away."—
 Foolishly the bees believed,
 Till by-famine undeceived ;
 When their misery was complete,
 All the strange delusion vanished !
 Now the drones are killed or banished,
 And the bees again may eat.

Mandeville goes much further ; he asserts that bees cannot live at their ease in a great and powerful hive, without many vices. No kingdom, no state (says he) can flourish without vices. Take away the vanity of ladies of quality, and there will be no more fine manufactures of silk, no more employment for men and women in a thousand different branches ; a great part of the nation will be reduced to beggary. Take away the avarice of our merchants, and the fleets of England will be annihilated. Deprive artists of envy, and emulation will cease ; we shall sink back into primitive rudeness and ignorance.

It is quite true that a well governed society turns every vice to account ; but it is not true that these vices are necessary to the well-being of the world. Very good remedies may be made from poisons, but poisons do not contribute to the support of life. By thus reducing the Fable of the Bees to its just value, it might be made a work of moral utility.

BEGGAR—MENDICANT.

EVERY country where begging, where mendicity, is a profession, is ill governed. Beggary, as I have elsewhere said, is a vermin that clings to opulence. Yes ; but let it be shaken off ; let the hospitals be for sickness and age alone, and let the shops be for the young and vigorous.*

* Mendicity is the opprobrium of almost all the old catholic countries ; and there are reasoners who lament the fall of the

The following is an extract from a sermon composed by a preacher ten years ago, for the parish of St. Leu and St. Giles, which is the parish of the beggars and the convulsionaries :—

Pauperes evangelicantur,—the Gospel is preached to the poor.

“ My dear brethren the beggars, what is meant by the word *Gospel* ? It signifies *good news*. It is, then, good news that I come to tell you ; and what is it ? It is, that if you are idlers, you will die on a dunghill. Know that there have been idle kings, so at least we are told ; and they at last had not where to lay their heads. If you work, you will be as happy as other men.

“ The preachers at St. Eustache and St. Roche may deliver to the rich very fine sermons in a flowery style, which procure for the auditors a light slumber with an easy digestion, and for the orator a thousand crowns ; but I address those whom hunger keeps awake. Work for your bread, I say ; for the Scripture says, that he who does not work deserves not to eat. Our brother in adversity, Job, who was for some time in your condition, says that man is born to labour as the bird is to fly. Look at this immense city : every one is busy ; the judges rise at four in the morning to administer justice to you, and send you to the galleys when your idleness has caused you to thief rather awkwardly.

“ The king works ; he attends his council every day ; and he has made campaigns. Perhaps you will say, he is none the richer. Granted ; but that is not his fault. The financiers know, better than you or I do, that not one-half his revenue ever enters his coffers. He has been obliged to sell his plate, in order to defend us

monasteries in England, which gave so much away in *charity*, that is to say, supported a lazzaroni of the most wretched description, in indolence, superstition, and vice. Voltaire, in this paragraph, hints at the grand difficulty in all provision for poverty,—that of separating unavoidable calamity from the misery which is self-created.—T.

against our enemies. We should aid him in our turn. The Friend of Man (*l'Ami des Hommes*) allows him only seventy-five millions per annum. Another friend all at once gives him seven hundred and forty. But of all these Job's comforters, not one will advance him a single crown. It is necessary to invent a thousand ingenious ways of drawing this crown from our pockets, which, before it reaches his own, is diminished by at least one-half.

"Work, then, my dear brethren; act for yourselves, for I forewarn you, that if you do not take care of yourselves no one will take care of you; you will be treated as the king has been in several grave remonstrances; people will say, 'God help you.'

"We will go into the provinces, you will answer; we shall be fed by the lords of the land, by the farmers, by the curates. Do not flatter yourselves, my dear brethren, that you shall eat at their tables: they have for the most part enough to do to feed themselves, notwithstanding the "Method of rapidly getting rich by Agriculture," and fifty other works of the same kind, published every day at Paris, for the use of the people in the country, with cultivating of which the authors never had anything to do.

"I behold among you young men of some talent, who say that they will make verses, that they will write pamphlets, like Chisiac, Nonotte, or Patouillet; that they will work for the "*Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*," that they will write sheets for Fréron, funeral orations for bishops, songs for the comic opera. Any of these would at least be an occupation. When a man is writing for the "*Année Littéraire*," he is not robbing on the highway, he is only robbing his creditors. But do better, my dear brethren in Jesus Christ, my dear beggars, who, by passing your lives in asking charity, run the risk of the galleys—do better; enter one of the four mendicant orders: you will then be not only rich, but honoured also."

BEKKER,

"THE WORLD BEWITCHED," THE DEVIL, THE BOOK OF ENOCH, AND SORCERERS.

THIS Balthazar Bekker, a very good man, a great enemy of the everlasting hell and the devil, and a still greater of precision, made a great deal of noise in his time by his great book, "The World Bewitched."

One Jacques-George de Chauffepied, a pretended continuator of Bayle, assures us that Bekker learned Greek at Gascoigne. Nicéron has good reasons for believing that it was at Franeker. This historical point has occasioned much doubt and trouble at court.

The fact is, that in the time of Bekker, a minister of the Holy Gospel (as they say in Holland) the devil was still in prodigious credit among divines of all sorts, in the middle of the seventeenth century, in spite of the good spirits which were beginning to enlighten the world. Witchcraft, possessions, and everything else attached to that fine divinity, were in vogue throughout Europe, and frequently had fatal results.

A century had scarcely elapsed since king James himself,—called by Henry IV. *Master James*,—that great enemy of the Roman communion and the papal power, had published his *Demonology* (what a book for a king!) and in his *Demonology* had admitted sorceries, incubuses, and succubuses, and acknowledged the power of the devil, and of the pope, who, according to him, had just as good a right to drive Satan from the bodies of the possessed as any other priest. And we, miserable Frenchmen, who boast of having recovered some small part of our senses, in what a horrid sink of stupid barbarism were we then immersed! Not a parliament, not a presidial court, but was occupied in trying sorcerers; not a great jurisconsult, who did not write memorials on possessions by the devil. France resounded with the cries of poor imbecile creatures whom the judges, after making them believe that they had danced round a cauldron, tortured and put to death without pity, in horrible torments. Catholics and pro-

testants were alike infected with this absurd and frightful superstition; the pretext being, that in one of the Christian gospels, it is said that disciples were sent to cast out devils. It was a sacred duty to put girls to the torture, in order to make them confess that they had lain with Satan, and that they had fallen in love with him in the form of a goat. All the particulars of the meetings of the girls with this goat were detailed in the trials of the unfortunate individuals. They were burned at last, whether they confessed or denied; and France was one vast theatre of judicial carnage.

I have before me a collection of these infernal proceedings, made by a counsellor of the parliament of Bordeaux, named De Langre, and addressed to Monseigneur Silleri, chancellor of France, without Monseigneur Silleri's having ever thought of enlightening those infamous magistrates. But, indeed, it would have been necessary to begin by enlightening the chancellor himself. What was France at that time! A continual St. Bartholomew,—from the massacre of Vassy to the assassination of marshal D'Ancre and his innocent wife.

Will it be believed that, in the time of this very Bekker, a poor girl, named Magdalen Chaudron, who had been persuaded that she was a witch, was burned at Geneva?

The following is a very exact summary of the procès-verbal of this absurd and horrid act, which is not the last monument of the kind:—

“ Michelle, having met the devil as she was going out of the town, the devil gave her a kiss, received her homage, and imprinted on her upper lip and her right breast the mark which it is his custom to affix on all persons whom he recognises as his favourites. This seal of the devil is a small sign-manual, which, as demonological jurisconsults affirm, renders the skin insensible.

“ The devil ordered Michelle Chaudron to bewitch two girls; and she immediately obeyed her lord. The relatives of the young women judicially charged her

with devilish practices, and the girls themselves were interrogated, and confronted with the accused. They testified that they constantly felt a swarming of ants in certain parts of their bodies, and that they were possessed. The physicians were then called in, or at least those who then passed for physicians. They visited the girls, and sought on Michelle's body for the devil's seal, which the procès-verbal calls the *satanic marks*. They thrust a large needle into the spot, and this of itself was a grievous torture. Blood flowed from the puncture; and Michelle made known, by her cries, that satanic marks do not produce insensibility. The judges, seeing no satisfactory evidence that Michelle Chaudron was a witch, had her put to the torture, which never fails to bring forth proofs. The unfortunate girl, yielding at length to the violence of her torments, confessed whatever was required of her.

"The physicians again sought for the satanic mark. They found it in a small dark spot on one of her thighs. They applied the needle; but the torture had been so excessive, that the poor expiring creature scarcely felt the wound; she did not cry out; therefore, the crime was satisfactorily proved. But, as manners were becoming less rude, she was not burned until she had been hanged."

Every tribunal in Christian Europe still rings with similar condemnations: so long did this barbarous imbecility endure, that even in our own day, at Wurtzburg, in Franconia, there was a witch burned in 1750. And what a witch! A young woman of quality, the abbess of a convent! and in our own times, under the empire of Maria Theresa of Austria!*

* It was so late as the latter end of the reign of Anne, that the pious and enlightened Glanville published his *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, a laboured collection of narratives and arguments in support of continuing to burn old women for witches, among a "thinking people." The reverend divine, in the genuine spirit of later writers, and of Dr. Southey in particular, laments the infidelity of the age, and the increasing scepticism which was assailing the most venerable opinions and practices! This book forms an admirable example of the genuine nature of

These horrors, by which Europe was so long filled, determined Bekker to fight against the devil. In vain was he told, in prose and in verse, that he was doing wrong to attack him, seeing that he was extremely like him, being horribly ugly : nothing could stop him. He began with absolutely denying the power of Satan ; and even grew so bold as to maintain that he does not exist. " If," said he, " there were a devil, he would revenge the war which I make upon him."

Bekker reasoned but too well in saying, that if the devil existed, he would punish him. His brother ministers took Satan's part, and suspended Bekker : for heretics will also excommunicate ; and, in the article of cursing, Geneva mimics Rome.

Bekker enters on his subject in the second volume. According to him, the serpent which seduced our first parents was not a devil, but a real serpent ;* as Balaam's ass was a real ass, and as the whale that swallowed Jonas was a real whale. It was so decidedly a real serpent, that all its species, which had before walked on their feet, were condemned to crawl on their bellies. No serpent, no animal of any kind, is called Satan, or Belzebub, or devil, in the Pentateuch. There is not so much as an allusion to Satan. The Dutch destroyer of Satan does, indeed, admit the existence of angels ; but at the same time he assures us, that it cannot be proved by reasoning. " And if there are any," says he in the eighth chapter of his second volume, " it is hard to say what they are. The Scriptures tell us nothing about their nature, nor in

mere testimony, when, as Swift observes, reason goes to cuffs with the imagination, and fancy gets astride of the judgment. The acts against witchcraft were not repealed until 1726, which unhappily lost the member for Corfe Castle the honour of supporting this memorable portion of the " wisdom of our ancestors," a century later.—T.

* The learned Dr. Adam Clarke, of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, insists that the original word *Nakhash* does not signify serpent, but ape ; and it must be confessed that a suspicious partiality, occasionally observable in the sex, for animals partaking of the qualities of the latter, seems to favour the reading.—T.

what the nature of a spirit consists. The Bible was made, not for angels, but for men; Jesus was made a man for us, not an angel."

If Bekker has so many scruples concerning angels, it is not to be wondered at that he has some concerning devils; and it is very amusing to see into what contortions he puts his mind, in order to avail himself of such texts as appear to be in his favour, and to evade such as are against him.

He does his utmost to prove that the devil had nothing to do with the afflictions of Job; and here he is even more prolix than the friends of that holy man.

There is great probability that he was condemned only through the ill-humour of his judges at having lost so much time in reading his work. If the devil himself had been forced to read Bekker's *World Bewitched*, he could never have forgiven the fault of having so prodigiously wearied him.

One of our Dutch divine's greatest difficulties is to explain these words—"Jesus was transported by the spirit into the desert, to be tempted by the devil." No text can be clearer. A divine may write against Belzebub as much as he pleases, but he must of necessity admit his existence; he may then explain the difficult texts if he can.

Whosoever desires to know precisely what the devil is, may be informed by referring to the jesuit Scott: no one has spoken of him more at length: he is much worse than Bekker.

Consulting history, where the ancient origin of the devil is to be found in the doctrine of the Persians, Ahrimanes, the bad principle, corrupts all that the good principle had made salutary. Among the Egyptians, Typhon does all the harm he can; while Oshireth, whom we call Osiris, does, together with Isheth, or Isis, all the good of which he is capable.

Before the Egyptians and Persians, Mozazor, among the Indians, had revolted against God, and became the devil, but God had at last pardoned him.* If

* See BRAHMINS.

Bekker and the Socinians had known this anecdote of the fall of the Indian angels and their restoration, they would have availed themselves of it to support their opinion that hell is not perpetual, and to give hopes of salvation to such of the damned as read their books.

The Jews, as has already been observed,* never spoke of the fall of the angels in the Old Testament ; but it is mentioned in the New.

About the period of the establishment of Christianity, a book was attributed to " Enoch, the seventh man after Adam," concerning the devil and his associates. Enoch gives us the names of the leaders of the rebellious and the faithful angels, but he does not say that war was in heaven ; on the contrary, the fight was upon a mountain of the earth, and it was for the possession of young women.

St. Jude cites this book in his Epistle :—" And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.... Woe unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain. . . . And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these. . . ."

St. Peter, in his second Epistle, alludes to the book of Enoch, when he says :—" For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness. . . ."

Bekker must have found it difficult to resist passages so formal. However, he was even more inflexible on the subject of devils than on that of angels : he would not be subdued by the book of Enoch, the seventh man from Adam ; he maintained that there was no more a devil than there was a book of Enoch. He said that the devil was imitated from ancient mythology, that it was an old story revived, and that we are nothing more than plagiarists.

We may at the present day be asked, why we call

* See ANGELS.

that Lucifer the *evil spirit*, whom the Hebrew version and the book attributed to Enoch, named Samyaza. It is, because we understand Latin better than Hebrew.

But whether Lucifer be the planet Venus, or the Samyaza of Enoch, or the Satan of the Babylonians, or the Mozazor of the Indians, or the Typhon of the Egyptians, Bekker was right in saying that so enormous a power ought not to be attributed to him as that with which, even down to our own times, he has been believed to be invested. It is too much to have immolated to him a woman of quality of Wurtzburg, Magdalen Chaudron, the curate of Gaupidi, the wife of marshal d'Ancre, and more than a hundred thousand other wizards and witches, in the space of thirteen hundred years, in Christian states. Had Belthezar Bekker been content with pairing the devil's nails, he would have been very well received; but when a curate would annihilate the devil, he loses his cure.

BELIEF.

WE shall see, at the article CERTAINTY, that we ought often to be very uncertain of what we are certain of; and that we may fail in good sense, when deciding according to what is called *common sense*. But what is it that we call *believing*?

A Turk comes and says to me—"I believe that the angel Gabriel often descended from the empyrean, to bring Mahomet leaves of the Alcoran, written on blue vellum."

Well, Mustapha, and on what does thy shaven head found its belief of this incredible thing?

"On this;—That there are the greatest probabilities that I have not been deceived in the relation of these improbable prodigies; that Abubeker the father-in-law, Ali the son-in-law, Aisha or Aisse the daughter, Omar, and Osman, certified the truth of the fact in the presence of fifty thousand men,—gathered together all the leaves, read them to the faithful, and attested that not a word had been altered.

"That we have never had but one Koran, which has

never been contradicted by another Koran. That God has never permitted the least alteration to be made in this book.

“ That its doctrine and precepts are the perfection of reason. Its doctrine consists in the unity of God, for whom we must live and die; in the immortality of the soul; the eternal rewards of the just and punishments of the wicked; and the mission of our great prophet Mahomet, proved by victories.

“ Its precepts are :—To be just and valiant; to give alms to the poor; to abstain from that enormous quantity of women whom the Eastern princes, and in particular the petty Jewish kings, took to themselves without scruple; to renounce the good wines of Engaddi and Tadmor, which those drunken Hebrews have so praised in their books; to pray to God five times a day, &c.

“ This sublime religion has been confirmed by the miracle of all others the finest, the most constant, and best verified in the history of the world :—that Mahomet, persecuted by the gross and absurd scholastic magistrates who decreed his arrest, and obliged to quit his country, returned victorious; that he made his imbecile and sanguinary enemies his footstool; that he all his life fought the battles of the Lord; that with a small number he always triumphed over the greater number; that he and his successors have converted one-half of the earth; and that, with God’s help, we shall one day convert the other half.”

Nothing can be arrayed in more dazzling colours. Yet Mustapha, while believing so firmly, always feels some small shadows of doubt arising in his soul, when he hears any difficulties started respecting the visits of the angel Gabriel; the sura or chapter brought from heaven to declare that the great prophet was not a cuckold; or the mare Borak, which carried him in one night from Mecca to Jerusalem. Mustapha stammers; he makes very bad answers, at which he blushes; yet he not only tells you that he believes, but would also persuade you to believe. You press Mustapha; he still gapes and stares, and at last goes

away to wash himself in honour of Alla, beginning his ablution at the elbow, and ending with the fore-finger.

Is Mustapha really persuaded—convinced of all that he has told us? Is he perfectly sure that Mahomet was sent by God, as he is sure that the city of Stambol exists? as he is sure that the empress Catherine II. sent a fleet from the remotest seas of the North to land troops in Peloponnesus—a thing as astonishing as the journey from Mecca to Jerusalem in one night—and that this fleet destroyed that of the Ottomans near the Dardanelles?

The truth is, that Mustapha believes what he does not believe. He has been accustomed to pronounce, with his mollah, certain words which he takes for ideas. To *believe* is very often to *doubt*.*

Why do you believe that? says Harpagon. I believe it because I believe it, answers Master Jacques; and most men might return the same answer.

Believe me fully, my dear reader, when I say, one must not believe too easily.

But what shall we say of those who would persuade others of what they themselves do not believe? and what of the monsters who persecute their brethren in the humble and rational doctrine of doubt and self-distrust?

BETHSHEMESH.

Of the fifty thousand and seventy Jews struck with sudden death for having looked upon the Ark; of the five golden Emeroids paid by the Philistines; and of Dr. Kennicott's Incredulity.

MEN of the world will perhaps be astonished to find this word the subject of an article; but we here address only the learned, and ask their instruction.

* Hume ably supports this assertion by Voltaire, observing, that nothing more is necessary to acquire a correct idea of the distinction between one sort of belief and another, than to attend to the different effect they produce on conduct. The real belief is seen inseparably connected with action, even amidst the wildest inconsistency; the imaginary credence, on the con-

Bethshemesh was a village belonging to God's people, situated, according to commentators, two miles north of Jerusalem.

The Phenicians having, in Samuel's time, beaten the Jews, and taken from them their Ark of alliance in the battle, in which they killed thirty thousand of their men, were severely punished for it by the Lord:—

“Percussit eos in secretiori parte natium, et ebullierunt villæ et agri . . . et nati sunt mures, et facta est confusio mortis magna in civitate.” Literally: “He struck them in the most secret part of the buttocks; and the fields and the farm-houses were troubled. . . . and there sprung up mice; and there was a great confusion of death in the city.”*

The prophets of the Phenicians, or Philistines, having informed them that they could deliver themselves from the scourge only by giving to the Lord five golden mice and five golden emeroids, and sending him back the Jewish Ark, they fulfilled this order, and, according to the express command of their prophets, sent back the Ark, with the mice and emeroids, on a waggon drawn by two cows, with each a sucking-calf, and without a driver.

These two cows, of themselves, took the Ark straight to Bethshemesh. The men of Bethshemesh approached the Ark, in order to look at it; which liberty was punished yet more severely than the profanation by the Phenicians had been. The Lord struck with sudden death, seventy men of the people, and fifty thousand of the populace.

The reverend Doctor Kennicott, an Irishman, printed in 1768 a French commentary on this occurrence, and dedicated it to the Bishop of Oxford. At the head

trary, makes of conduct an almost eternal *non sequitur*. The Gospel asserts, that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. It is no doubt because bishops believe this, that they die one after another worth half a million each, collected, in some instances, from the close shearing of flocks, who as devoutly believe that in respect to heaven their mitred shepherds have not even the chance of the camel.

* 1 Sam. chap. v. vi.

of this commentary, he entitles himself doctor of divinity, member of the Royal Society of London, of the Palatine Academy, of the Academy of Gottingen, and of the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris. All that I know of the matter is, that he is not of the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris. Perhaps he is one of its correspondents. His vast erudition may have deceived him; but titles are distinct from things.

He informs the public, that his pamphlet is sold at Paris by Saillant and Molini, at Rome by Monaldini, at Venice by Pasquali, at Florence by Cambiagi, at Amsterdam by Marc-Michel Rey, at the Hague by Gosse, at Leyden by Jaquau, and in London by Beckett, who receives subscriptions.

In this pamphlet he pretends to prove that the Scripture text has been corrupted. Here we must be permitted to differ with him. Nearly all Bibles agree in these expressions: seventy men of the people, and fifty thousand of the populace. "*De populo septuaginta viros, et quinquaginta millia plebis.*"

The reverend Doctor Kennicott says to the right reverend the lord bishop of Oxford, that formerly there were strong prejudices in favour of the Hebrew text; but that, for seventeen years, his lordship and himself have been freed from their prejudices, after the deliberate and attentive perusal of this chapter.

In this we differ from Dr. Kennicott; and the more we read this chapter, the more we reverence the ways of the Lord, which are not our ways. It is impossible (says Kennicott) for the candid reader not to feel astonished and affected at the contemplation of fifty thousand men destroyed in one village—men, too, employed in gathering the harvest.

This does, it is true, suppose a hundred thousand persons, at least, in that village; but should the doctor forget, that the Lord had promised Abraham that his posterity should be as numerous as the sands of the sea?

The Jews and the Christians (adds he) have not scrupled to express their repugnance to attach faith to this destruction of fifty thousand and seventy men.

We answer, that we are Christians, and have no repugnance to attach faith to whatever is in the Holy Scriptures. We answer, with the reverend father Calmet, that “if we were to reject whatever is extraordinary and beyond the reach of our conception, we must reject the whole Bible.” We are persuaded that the Jews, being under the guidance of God himself, could experience no events but such as were stamped with the seal of the Divinity, and quite different from what happened to other men. We will even venture to advance, that the death of these fifty thousand and seventy men is one of the least surprising things in the Old Testament.

We are struck with astonishment still more reverential, when Eve’s serpent and Balaam’s ass talk; when the waters of the cataracts are swelled by rain fifteen cubits above all the mountains; when we behold the plagues of Egypt, and the six hundred and thirty thousand fighting Jews flying on foot through the divided and suspended sea; when Joshua stops the sun and moon at noon-day; when Sampson slays a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass. . . . In those divine times, all was miracle, without exception; and we have the profoundest reverence for all these miracles,—for that ancient world which was not our world,—for that nature which was not our nature,—for a divine book, in which there can be nothing human.

But we are astonished at the liberty which Dr. Ken- nicott takes, of calling those *deists* and *atheists*, who, while they revere the Bible more than he does, differ from him in opinion. Never will it be believed that a man with such ideas is of the Academy of Medals and Inscriptions. He is, perhaps, of the Academy of Bedlam, the most ancient of all, and whose colonies extend throughout the earth.

BILHAH.—BASTARDS.

BILHAH, servant to Rachel, and Zilpah, servant to Leah, each bore the patriarch Jacob two children; and be it observed, that they inherited like legitimate

sons, as well as the eight other male children whom Jacob had by the two sisters Leah and Rachel. It is true that all their inheritance consisted in a blessing; whereas, William *the Bastard* inherited Normandy.

Thierry, a bastard of Clovis, inherited the best part of Gaul, invaded by his father.

Several kings of Spain and Naples have been bastards.

In Spain, bastards have always inherited. King Henry of Transtamare was not considered as an illegitimate king, though he was an illegitimate child; and this race of bastards, founded in the house of Austria, reigned in Spain until Philip V.

The line of Arragon, who reigned in Naples in Louis XII.'s time, were bastards. Count De Dunois signed himself "the Bastard of Orleans;" and letters were long preserved of the duke of Normandy, king of England, which were signed "William the Bastard."

In Germany, it is otherwise: the descent must be pure; bastards never inherit fiefs, nor have any estate. In France, as has long been the case, a king's bastard cannot be a priest without a dispensation from Rome; but he becomes a prince without any difficulty, as soon as the king acknowledges him to be the offspring of his sire, even though he be the bastard of an adulterous father and mother. It is the same in Spain. The bastard of a king of England may be a duke, but not a prince. Jacob's bastards were neither princes nor dukes; they had no lands, the reason being that their father had none; but they were afterwards called *patriarchs*, which may be rendered *arch-fathers*.

It has been asked, whether the bastards of the popes might be popes in turn. Pope John XI. was, it is true, a bastard of pope Sergius III. and of the famous Marozia: but an instance is not a law.

BISHOP.

SAMUEL Ornik, a native of Basle, was, as is well known, a very amiable young man, who moreover knew his German and Greek New Testament by heart. At

the age of twenty, his parents sent him to travel. He was commissioned to carry books to the coadjutor at Paris, in the time of the Fronde. He arrived at the archbishop's gate, and was told by the Swiss that *monseigneur* saw no one. "My dear fellow," said Ornik, "you are very rude to your countrymen; the apostles allowed every one to approach, and Jesus Christ desired that little children should come unto him. I have nothing to ask of your master; on the contrary, I bring him something."—"Enter, then," said the Swiss.

He waited an hour in the first antichamber. Being quite artless, he attacked with questions a domestic who was very fond of telling all he knew about his master. "He must be pretty rich," said Ornik, "to have such a swarm of pages and footmen running in and out of the house."—"I don't know," answered the other, "what his income is, but I hear Joli and the abbé Charier say that he is two millions in debt."—"But who is that lady who is come out of a cabinet, and is passing by?"—"That is madame de Pomèreu, one of his mistresses."—"She is really very pretty; but I have not read that the apostles had such company in their bed-chambers in a morning."—"Ah! that, I believe, is *monsieur*, about to give audience."—"Say *sa grandeur*, *monseigneur*."—"Well, with all my heart. . . ." Ornik saluted '*sa grandeur*,' presented his books, and was received with a most gracious smile. '*Sa grandeur*' said three words to him, and stepped into his carriage, escorted by fifty horsemen. In stepping in, *monseigneur* dropped a sheath, and Ornik was astonished that *monseigneur* should carry so large an inkhorn. "Do you not see," said the talker, "that it is his dagger? every one that goes to parliament wears his dagger?"—Ornik uttered an exclamation of astonishment, and departed.

He went through France, and was edified by town after town. From thence he passed into Italy. In the papal territories, he met a bishop with an income of only a thousand crowns, who went on foot. Ornik, being naturally kind, offered him a place in his cam-

biatura.—“ Signor, you are no doubt going to comfort the sick ?”—“ Sir, I am going to my master.”—“ Your master? He, no doubt, is Jesus Christ.”—“ Sir, he is cardinal Azolino; I am his almoner. He gives me a very poor salary; but he has promised to place me with Donna Olimpia, the favourite sister-in-law of *nostro signore*.”—“ What! are you in the pay of a cardinal? But do you not know that there were no cardinals in the time of Jesus Christ and St. John ?”—“ Is it possible!” exclaimed the Italian prelate.—“ Nothing is more true: you have read it in the Gospel.”—“ I have never read it,” replied the bishop; “ I know only the office of Our Lady.”—“ I tell you, there were neither cardinals nor bishops; and when there were bishops, the priests were almost their equals, as St. Jerome, in several places, assures us.”—“ Holy Virgin!” said the Italian, “ I knew nothing about it; and what of the popes ?”—“ There were no popes either.”—The good bishop crossed himself, thinking he was with the evil one; and leaped from the side of his companion.

BLASPHEMY.

THIS is a Greek word, signifying *an attack on reputation*. We find *blasphemia* in Demosthenes. In the Greek church it was used only to express an injury done to God. The Romans never made use of this expression, not thinking (it would appear) that God’s honour could be offended like that of men.

There scarcely exists one synonyme. *Blasphemy* does not altogether convey the idea of *sacrilege*. We say of a man who has taken God’s name in vain, who, in the violence of anger, has sworn (as it is expressed) by the name of God, that he has *blasphemed*; but we do not say that he has committed sacrilege. The sacriligious man is he who perjures himself on the Gospel, who extends his rapacity to sacred things, who imbrues his hands in the blood of priests.

Great sacrileges have always been punished with death in all nations, especially those accompanied by bloodshed.

The author of the "*Instituts au Droit Criminel*," reckons among divine high treasons in the second degree, the non-observance of Sundays and holidays. He should have said, the non-observance attended with marked contempt; for simple negligence is a sin, but not, as he calls it, a sacrilege. It is absurd to class together, as this author does, simony, the carrying off a nun, and the forgetting to go to vespers on a holiday. It is one great instance of the errors committed by writers on jurisprudence, who, not having been called upon to make laws, take upon themselves to interpret those of the state.

Blasphemies uttered in intoxication, in anger, in the excess of debauchery, or in the heat of unguarded conversation, have been subjected by legislators to much lighter penalties. For instance: the advocate whom we have already cited, says, that the laws of France condemn simple blasphemers to a fine for the first offence, which is doubled for the second, tripled for the third, and quadrupled for the fourth offence; for the fifth relapse the culprit is set in the pillory; for the sixth relapse he is pilloried, and has his upper lip burned off with a hot iron; and for the seventh he loses his tongue. He should have added, that this was an ordonnance of the year 1666.

Punishments are almost always arbitrary, which is a great defect in jurisprudence. But this defect opens the way for clemency and compassion, and this compassion is no other than the strictest justice; for it would be horrible to punish a youthful indiscretion as poisoners and parricides are punished. A sentence of death for an offence which deserves nothing more than correction, is no other than an assassination committed with the sword of justice.

Is it not to the purpose here to remark, that what has been blasphemy in one country has often been piety in another?

Suppose a Tyrian merchant landed at the port of Canope: he might be scandalized by seeing an onion, a cat, or a goat, carried in procession; he might speak indecorously of Isheth, Oshireth, and Horeth; or

might turn aside his head and not fall on his knees, at the sight of a procession with the parts of human generation larger than life: he might express his opinion at supper, or even sing some song in which the Tyrian sailors made a jest of the Egyptian absurdities. He might be overheard by the maid of the inn,* whose conscience would not suffer her to conceal so enormous a crime: she would run and denounce the offender to the nearest *shoen* that bore the image of the truth on his breast; and it is known how this image of truth was made. The tribunal of the shoens, or shotim, would condemn the Tyrian blasphemer to a dreadful death, and confiscate his vessel. Yet this merchant might be considered at Tyre as one of the most pious persons in Phenicia.

Numa sees that his little horde of Romans are a collection of Latin freebooters, who steal right and left all they can find—oxen, sheep, fowls, and girls. He tells them that he has spoken with the nymph Egeria in a cavern, and that the nymph has been employed by Jupiter to give him laws. The senators treat him at first as a blasphemer, and threaten to throw him headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Numa makes himself a powerful party; he gains over some senators, who go with him into Egeria's grotto. She talks to them, and converts them; they convert the senate and the people. In a little time, Numa is no longer a blasphemer; the name is given only to such as doubt the existence of the nymph.

In our own times, it is unfortunate that what is blasphemy at Rome, at Our Lady of Loretto, and within the walls of San-Gennaro, is piety in London, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Berlin, Copenhagen, Berne, Basle, and Hamburgh. It is yet more unfortunate that even in the same country, in the same town, in the same street, people treat one another as blasphemers.

Nay; of the ten thousand Jews living at Rome, there is not one who does not regard the Pope as the chief of the blasphemers; while the hundred thousand

* A forcible exposure of the absolute fact in relation to the murdered youth De la Barre.

Christians who inhabit Rome, in place of two millions of Jovians* who filled it in Trajan's time, firmly believe that the Jews meet in their synagogues on a Saturday, for the purpose of blaspheming.

A Cordelier has no hesitation in applying the epithet of blasphemer to a Dominican, who says that the Holy Virgin was born in original sin; notwithstanding that the Dominicans have a bull from the Pope which permits them to teach the maculate conception in their convents, and that, besides this bull, they have in their forum the express declaration of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The first origin of the schism of three-fourths of Switzerland, and a part of Lower Germany, was a quarrel in the cathedral church of Frankfort, between a Cordelier, whose name I forget, and a Dominican named Vigand.

Both were drunk, according to the custom of that day. The drunken Cordelier, who was preaching, thanked God that he was not a Jacobin, swearing that it was necessary to exterminate the blaspheming Jacobins, who believed that the Holy Virgin had been born in mortal sin, and delivered from sin only by the merits of her son. The drunken Jacobin cried out: "Thou hast lied; thou thyself art a blasphemer." The Cordelier, descending from the pulpit with a great iron crucifix in his hand, laid it about his adversary, and left him almost dead upon the spot.

To revenge this outrage, the Dominicans worked many miracles in Germany and Switzerland; these miracles were designed to prove their faith. They at length found means to imprint the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ on one of their lay brethren, named Jetzer. This operation was performed at Berne by the Holy Virgin herself; but she borrowed the hand of the subprior, who dressed himself in female attire, and put a glory round his head. The poor little lay brother, exposed all bloody to the veneration of the people, on the altar of the Dominicans at Berne, at last cried out murder! sacrilege! The monks, in order to quiet him

* Jovians,—worshippers of Jupiter.

as quickly as possible, administered to him a host sprinkled with corrosive sublimate; but the excess of the dose made him discharge the host from his stomach.*

The monks then accused him, to the bishop of Lausanne, of horrible sacrilege. The indignant people of Berne in their turn accused the monks; and four of them were burned at Berne, on the 13th of May, 1509, at the Marsilly-gate.

Such was the termination of this abominable affair, which determined the people of Berne to choose a religion, bad indeed in Catholic eyes, but which delivered them from the Cordeliers and the Jacobins.

The number of similar sacrileges is incredible. Such are the effects of party spirit.

The Jesuits maintained, for a hundred years, that the Jansenists were blasphemers, and proved it by a thousand lettres-de-cachet; the Jansenists, by upwards of four thousand volumes, demonstrated that it was the Jesuits who blasphemed. The writer of the "*Gazettes Ecclésiastiques*," pretends that all honest men blaspheme against him; while he himself blasphemes from his garret on high against every honest man in the kingdom. The gazette-writer's publisher blasphemes in return, and complains that he is starving.

He would find it better to be honest and polite.

One thing equally remarkable and consoling is, that never, in any country of the earth, among the wildest idolators, has any man been considered as a blasphemer for acknowledging one supreme, eternal, and all-powerful God. It certainly was not for having acknowledged this truth that Socrates was condemned to the hemlock; for the doctrine of a Supreme God was announced in all the Grecian mysteries. It was a faction that destroyed Socrates: he was accused, at a venture,

* See the *Travels of Burnet*, bishop of Salisbury; the *History of the Dominicans of Berne*, by Abraham Ruchat, professor at Lausanne; and the *Procès-verbal* of the Commemoration of the Dominicans, and the original of the process, preserved in the library at Berne. The same fact is related in the *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations*. May it be related everywhere! It was unknown in France twenty years ago.

of not recognising the *secondary* gods, and on this point it was that he was accused as a blasphemer.

The first Christians were accused of blasphemy for the same reason; but the partisans of the ancient religion of the empire, the Jovians, who reproached the primitive Christians with blasphemy, were at length condemned as blasphemers themselves, under Theodosius II.

do Dryden says—

This side to day, to-morrow t'other burns,
And they're all Gods Almighty in their turns.*

BODY.

BODY and *matter* are here the same thing, although there is hardly any such thing as a synonyme in the most rigorous sense of the word. There have been persons who by this word *body* have understood *spirit* also. They have said spirit originally signifies breath; only a body can breathe; therefore body and spirit may, after all, be the same thing. In this sense, La Fontaine said to the celebrated duke de la Rochefoucault:—

J'entens les esprits corps et pétris de matière.

In the same sense, he says to madame Sablière:—

Je subtiliserais un morceau de matière,
Quintessence d'atôme, extrait de la lumière,
Je ne sais quoi plus vif et plus subtil encor. . . .

No one thought of harassing good monsieur La Fontaine, or bringing him to trial for his expressions. Were a poor philosopher, or even a poet, to say as much now-a-days, how many would there be to fall on him! How many scribblers to sell their extracts for sixpence! How many knaves, for the sole purpose of making mischief, to cry philosopher! peripatetic! dis-

* The illustration in this article is peculiarly lively and piquant, and as ably exposes the folly of modern persecution as of that which has passed away. The extent of the interested ignorance and barbarity may not be so great, but the sacred principle of social justice is equally violated.—T.

ciple of Gassendi! pupil of Locke and the primitive fathers! damnable!*

As we know not what a spirit is, so also we are ignorant of what a body is: we see various properties, but what is the subject in which those properties reside? There is nothing but body, said Democritus and Epicurus; there is no such thing as body, said the disciples of Zeno, of Elia.

Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, is the last who, by a hundred captious sophisms, has pretended to prove that bodies do not exist. They have, says he, neither colour, not smell, nor heat; all these modalities are in your sensations, not in the objects. He might have spared himself the trouble of proving this truth, for it was already sufficiently known. But from thence he passes to extent and solidity, which are essential to body; and thinks he proves that there is no extent in a piece of green cloth, because the cloth is not in reality green, the sensation of green being in ourselves only; therefore the sensation of extent is likewise in ourselves only. Having thus destroyed extent, he concludes that solidity, which is attached to it, falls of itself; and therefore that there is nothing in the world but our ideas. So that, according to this doctor, ten thousand men killed by ten thousand cannon-shots, are in reality nothing more than ten thousand apprehensions of our understanding: and when a female becomes pregnant, it is only one idea lodged in another idea, from which a third idea will be produced.

Surely, the bishop of Cloyne might have saved himself from falling into this excessive absurdity. He thinks he shows that there is no extent, because a body

* It might be concluded from this passage that a "Constitutional Society" existed in Paris, to whom Voltaire made these applications; and in a general sense there was such a body; for corrupt society always produces weak and bigoted alarmists, and interested pettifoggers to make use of them. Progressive freedom, however, will brush off these vermin in due course, to meet the contempt of posterity, in common with inquisitors, witch-finders, and the similar excrement of former days. It appears as if the body politic, like the body natural, possessed its nauseous secretions, "and these are of them."—T.

has appeared to him four times as large through a glass as to his naked eye, and four times as small through another glass. Hence he concludes, that, since a body cannot be at the same time four feet, sixteen feet, and but one foot in extent, there is no extent; therefore there is nothing. He had only to take any measure, and say: of whatever extent this body may appear to me to be, it extends to so many of these measures.

He might very easily see that extent and solidity were quite different from sound, colour, taste, smell, &c. It is quite clear that these are sensations excited in us by the configuration of parts; but extent is not a sensation. When this lighted coal goes out, I am no longer warm; when the air is no longer struck, I cease to hear; when this rose withers, I no longer smell it: but the coal, the air, and the rose, have extent without me. Berkeley's paradox is not worth refuting.

Thus argued Zeno and Parmenides of old; and very clever they were: they would prove to you that a tortoise went along as swift as Achilles, for there was no such thing as motion: they discussed a hundred other questions equally important. Most of the Greeks made philosophy a juggle; and they transmitted their art to our schoolmen. Bayle himself was occasionally one of the set, and embroidered cobwebs like the rest. In his article *Zeno*, against the divisible extent of matter and the contiguity of bodies, he ventures to say what would not be tolerated in any six months' geometrician.

It is worth knowing how Berkeley was drawn into this paradox. A long while ago, I had some conversation with him; and he told me that his opinion originated in our being unable to conceive what the subject of this extension is; and certainly, in his book, he triumphs, when he asks Hylas what this subject, this substratum, this substance, is? It is the extended body, answers Hylas. Then the bishop, under the name of Philonous, laughs at him: and poor Hylas, finding that he has said that extension is the subject of extension, and has therefore talked nonsense, remains quite confused, acknowledges that he understands no-

thing at all of the matter, that there is no such thing as body, that the natural world does not exist, and that there is none but an intellectual world.

Hylas should only have said to Philonous:— We know nothing of the subject of this extension, solidity, divisibility, mobility, figure, &c.; I know no more of it than I do of the subject of thought, feeling, and will; but the subject does not the less exist, for it has essential properties of which it cannot be deprived.

We all resemble the greater part of the Parisian ladies, who live well without knowing what is put in their ragoûts: just so do we enjoy bodies without knowing of what they are composed. Of what does a body consist? Of parts; and these parts resolve themselves into other parts. What are these last parts? They, too, are bodies; you divide incessantly, without making any progress.

In short, a subtle philosopher, observing that a picture was made of ingredients of which no single ingredient was a picture, and a house of materials of which no one material was a house, imagined that bodies are composed of an infinity of small beings which are not bodies, and these are called *monades*. This system is not without its merits; and, were it revealed, I should think it very possible. These little beings would be so many mathematical points, a sort of souls, waiting only for a tenement: here would be a continual metempsychosis. This system is as good as another: I like it quite as well as the declination of atoms, the substantial forms, the versatile grace, or the vampires,

BOOKS.

SECTION I.

You despise books; you, whose whole lives are absorbed in the vanities of ambition, the pursuit of pleasure, or in indolence; but remember that all the known world, excepting only savage nations, is governed by books. All Africa, to the limits of Ethiopia and Nigritia, obeys the book of the Koran, after bowing to

the book of the Gospel. China is ruled by the moral book of Confucius, and a great part of India by the Vedah. Persia was governed for ages by the books of one of the Zorbasters.

In a law-suit, or a criminal process, your property, your honour, perhaps your life, depends on the interpretation of a book which you never read.

It is, however, with books as with men: a very small number play a great part; the rest are confounded with the multitude.

By whom are mankind led, in all civilized countries? By those who can read and write. You are acquainted with neither Hippocrates, nor Boerhaave, nor Sydenham; but you place your body in the hands of those who have read them. You leave your soul entirely to the care of those who are paid for reading the Bible; although there are not fifty of them who have read it through with attention.

The world is now so entirely governed by books, that they who command in the city of the Scipios and the Catos, have resolved that the books of their law shall be for themselves alone; they are their sceptre, which they have made it high treason in their subjects to touch without an express permission. In other countries it has been forbidden to think in print without letters-patent.*

There are nations in which thought is considered merely as an article of commerce, the operations of the human understanding being valued only at so much per sheet. If the bookseller happens to desire a privilege for his merchandize, whether he is selling Rabelais or the Fathers of the Church, the magistrate grants the privilege without answering for the contents of the book.

* "Oh, glorious thought, by heaven I will enjoy it!" exclaims Bajazet in the play, as will possibly Dr. Southey *out* of the play, on reading the foregoing sentence. Not only so; there is also reason to believe that, with great meekness and humility, the accomplished doctor might be prevailed upon to regulate the dispensation of the said letters-patent in his proper person, to the pious encouragement of his own "visions," and the profitable annihilation of those of other people.

In another country, the liberty of explaining yourself by books is one of the most inviolable prerogatives. There you may print whatever you please, on pain of being tiresome, and of being punished if you have too much abused your natural right.

Before the admirable invention of printing, books were scarcer and dearer than jewels. There were scarcely any books in our barbarous nations, either before Charlemagne or after him, until the time of Charles V. king of France, called the Wise; and from this Charles to Francis I. the scarcity was extreme.

The Arabs alone had them, from the eighth to the thirteenth century of our era.

China was full of them, when we could neither read nor write.

Copiers were much employed in the Roman empire, from the time of the Scipios until the irruption of the barbarians.

This was a very ungrateful employment. The dealers always paid authors and copiers very ill. It required two years of assiduous labour for a copier to transcribe the whole Bible well on vellum; and what time and trouble to copy correctly in Greek and Latin the works of Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and all the other writers called Fathers!

St. Hieronymas, or Hieronymus, whom we call Jerome, says, in one of his satirical letters against Rufinus,* that he has ruined himself with buying the works of Origen, against whom he wrote with so much bitterness and violence. "Yes," says he, "I have read Origen: if it be a crime, I confess that I am guilty, and that I exhausted my purse in buying his works at Alexandria."

The Christian societies of the three first centuries had fifty-four gospels, of which, until Dioclesian's time, scarcely two or three copies found their way among the Romans of the old religion.

Among the Christians, it was an unpardonable crime to show the gospels to the Gentiles; they did not even lend them to the catechumens.

* Letter from Jerome to Pammachus.

When Lucian (insulting our religion, of which he knew very little) relates that "a troop of beggars took him up into a fourth story, where they were invoking the Father through the Son, and foretelling misfortunes to the emperor and the empire," he does not say that they showed him a single book. No Roman historian, no Roman author whatsoever, makes mention of the gospels.

When a Christian, who was unfortunately rash and unworthy of his holy religion, had publicly torn in pieces and trampled under foot an edict of the emperor Dioclesian, and had thus drawn down upon Christianity that persecution which succeeded the greatest toleration, the Christians were then obliged to give up their gospels and written authors to the magistrates, which before then had never been done. Those who gave up their books through fear of imprisonment, or even of death, were held by the rest of the Christians to be sacriligious apostates: they received the surname of *traditores*, whence we have the word *traitor*; and several bishops asserted that they should be rebaptised, which occasioned a dreadful schism.

The poems of Homer were long so little known, that Pisistratus was the first who put them in order and had them transcribed at Athens, about five hundred years before the Christian era.

Perhaps there are not at this time in all the East a dozen copies of the Vedah and the Zendah-Vestah.

In 1700, you would not have found a single book in all Rome, excepting the missals, and a few Bibles in the hands of papas drunk with brandy.*

The complaint now is of their too great abundance. But it is not for readers to complain: the remedy is in their own hands; nothing forces them to read. Nor for authors: they who make the multitude of books have not to complain of being pressed. Notwithstanding this enormous quantity, how few people read! But if they read, and read with advantage, should we have

* This very striking passage will speak volumes to a reflective mind. What has not a century produced? What may not another century produce?

to witness the deplorable infatuations to which the vulgar are still every day a prey?

The reason that books are multiplied in spite of the general law, that beings shall not be multiplied without necessity is, that books are made from books. A new history of France or Spain is manufactured from several volumes already printed, without adding anything new. All dictionaries are made from dictionaries; almost all new geographical books are made from other books of geography; St. Thomas's Dream has brought forth two thousand large volumes of divinity; and the same race of little worms that have devoured the parent are now gnawing the children.

*Ecrive qui voudra, chacun à son métier
Peut perdre impunément de l'encre et du papier.*

*Write, write away; each writer at his pleasure
May squander ink and paper without measure.**

SECTION II.

It is sometimes very dangerous to make a book. Silhouète, before he could suspect that he should one day be comptrollor-general of the finances, published a translation of Warburton's Alliance of Church and State; and his father-in-law, Astuce the physician, gave to the public the Mémoires, in which the author of the Pentateuch might have found all the astonishing things which happened so long before his time.

The very day that Silhouète came into office, some good friend of his sought out a copy of each of these books by the father-in-law and son-in-law, in order to denounce them to the parliament, and have them condemned to the flames, according to custom. They immediately bought up all the copies in the kingdom; whence it is that they are now extremely rare.

There is hardly a single philosophical or theological book, in which heresies and impieties may not be found by misinterpreting, or adding to, or subtracting from the sense.*

* What would Voltaire have said, had he lived in London in the year 1824?

Theodore of Mopsuestes ventured to call the Canticle of Canticles "a collection of impurities." Grotius pulls it in pieces, and represents it as horrid; and Chatillon speaks of it as "a scandalous production."

Perhaps it will hardly be believed, that Dr. Tamponet one day said to several other doctors:—"I would engage to find a multitude of heresies in the Lord's Prayer, if this prayer, which we know to have come from the divine mouth, were now for the first time publishing by a Jesuit.

I would proceed thus:—

"Our Father who art in heaven—"

A proposition inclining to heresy; since God is everywhere. Nay, we find in this expression the leaven of Socinianism; for here is nothing at all said of the Trinity.*

"Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven—"

Another proposition tainted with heresy; for it is said again and again in the Scriptures, that God reigns eternally. Moreover, it is very rash to ask that his will may be done; since nothing is or can be done but by the will of God.

"Give us this day our daily bread—"

A proposition directly contrary to what Jesus Christ uttered on another occasion:—"Take no thought, saying what shall we eat? or what shall we drink? . . . for after all these things do the Gentiles seek. . . . But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."†

"And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors—"

A rash proposition, which compares man to God, destroys gratuitous predestination, and teaches that God is bound to do to us as we do to others. Besides, how can the author say that we forgive our debtors? We have never forgiven them a single crown. No convent

* It is quite certain that this would be a grave objection in the diocese of St. David's.

† Matthew, chap. vi. v. 31, &c.

in Europe ever remitted to its farmers the payment of a sous. To dare to say the contrary is a formal heresy.

“Lead us not into temptation—”

A proposition scandalous and manifestly heretical; for there is no tempter but the devil; and it is expressly said, in St. James's Epistle—“God is no tempter of the wicked; he tempts no man.”—“Deus enim intentator malorem est; ipse autem neminem tentat.”*

You see, then, said doctor Tamponet, that there is nothing, though ever so venerable, to which a bad sense may not be given. What book, then, shall not be liable to human censure, when even the Lord's Prayer may be attacked, by giving a diabolical interpretation to all the divine words that compose it. As for me, I tremble at the thought of making a book. Thank God, I have never published anything; I have not even, like brothers La Rue, Du Cerveau, and Folard, had any of my theatrical pieces played: it would be too dangerous.

If you publish, a parish curate accuses you of heresy; a stupid collegian denounces you; a fellow that cannot read condemns you; the public laugh at you; your bookseller abandons you; and your wine-merchant gives you no more credit. I always add to my Pater Noster, “Deliver me, O God, from the itch of book-making.”

O ye who, like myself, lay black on white, and make clean paper dirty! call to mind the following verses which I remember to have read, and by which we ought to have been corrected:—

Tout ce fatras fut du chanvre en son temps,
Linge il devint par l'art des tisserands;
Puis en lambeaux des pilons le pressèrent,
Il fut papier. Cent cerveaux à l'envers
De visions à l'envi le chargerent;
Puis on le brûle: il vole dans les airs,
Il est fumée aussi-bien que la gloire.
De nos travaux voilà quelle est l'histoire.
Tout est fumée, et tout nous fait sentir
Ce grand néant qui doit nous engloutir.

This miscellaneous rubbish once was flax,
 Till made soft linen by the honest weaver ;
 But when at length it dropped from peoples' backs,
 'Twas turned to paper, and became receiver
 Of all that fifty motley brains could fashion ;
 So now 'tis burned without the least compassion :
 It now, like glory, terminates in smoke ;
 Thus all our toils are nothing but a joke—
 All ends in smoke ; each nothing that we follow
 Tells of the nothing that must all things swallow.

SECTION III.

Books are now multiplied to such a degree, that it is impossible not only to read them all, but even to know their number and their titles. Happily, one is not obliged to read all that is published ; and Caramuel's plan for writing a hundred folio volumes, and employing the spiritual and temporal power of princes to compel their subjects to read them, has not been put in execution. Ringelberg, too, had formed the design of composing about a thousand different volumes ; but, even had he lived long enough to publish them, he would have fallen far short of Hermes Trismegistus, who, according to Jamblicus, composed thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five books. Supposing the truth of this fact, the ancients had no less reason than the moderns to complain of the multitude of books.

It is, indeed, generally agreed, that a small number of choice books are sufficient. Some propose that we should confine ourselves to the Bible or Holy Scriptures, as the Turks limit themselves to the Koran. But there is a great difference between the feelings of reverence entertained by the Mahometans for their Koran, and those of the Christians for the Scriptures. The veneration testified by the former, when speaking of the Koran, cannot be exceeded. It is, say they, the greatest of all miracles ; nor are all the men in existence put together, capable of anything at all approaching it ; it is still more wonderful, that the author had never studied, nor read any book. The Koran alone is worth sixty thousand miracles (the number of its verses, or thereabouts) : one rising from the dead would

not be a stronger proof of the truth of a religion than the composition of the Koran. It is so perfect that it ought not to be regarded as a work of creation.

The Christians do indeed say, that their Scriptures were inspired by the Holy Ghost, yet not only is it acknowledged by cardinal Cajetan* and Bellarmine,† that errors have found their way into them, through the negligence and ignorance of the booksellers, and the Rabbis, who added the points; but they are considered as a book too dangerous for the hands of the majority of the faithful. This is expressed by the fifth rule of the Index, a congregation at Rome, whose office it is to examine what books are to be forbidden. It is as follows:—

“ Since it is evident that if the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue were permitted to every one indiscriminately, the temerity of mankind would cause more evil than good to arise therefrom,— we will that it be referred to the judgment of the bishop or inquisitor, who, with the advice of the curate or confessor, shall have power to grant permission to read the Bible rendered in the vulgar tongue by catholic writers, to those to whom they shall judge that such reading will do no harm: they must have this permission in writing, and shall not be absolved until they have returned their Bible into the hands of the ordinary. As for such booksellers as shall sell‡ Bibles in the vulgar tongue to those who have not this written permission, or in any other way put them into their hands, they shall lose the price of the books (which the bishop shall employ for pious purposes), and shall moreover be punished by arbitrary penalties. Nor shall regulars read or buy these books without the permission of their superiors.”

Cardinal Du Perron also asserted§ that the Scriptures, in the hands of the unlearned, were a two-edged knife, which might wound them, to avoid which it was better that they should hear them from the mouth of

* Conversations on the Old Testament.

† Book ii. chap. ii. on the Word of God.

‡ Starti, part iv. p. 5.

§ Esprit de M. Arnauld, tom. ii. p. 119.

the church, with the solutions and interpretations of such passages as appear to the senses to be full of absurdity and contradiction, than that they should read them by themselves without any solution or interpretation. He afterwards made a long enumeration of these absurdities, in terms so unqualified, that Jurieu was not afraid to declare that he did not remember to have read anything so frightful or so scandalous in any Christian author.*

Jurieu, who was so violent in his invectives against Cardinal Du Perron, had himself to sustain similar reproaches from the Catholics. "I heard that minister," says Pap, in speaking of him, "teaching the public that all the characteristics of the Holy Scriptures, on which those pretended reformers had founded their persuasion of their divinity, did not appear to him to be sufficient. Let it not be inferred (said Jurieu) that I wish to take from the light and strength of the characteristics of Scripture; but I will venture to affirm, that there is not one of them which may not be eluded by the profane. There is not one of them that amounts to a proof—not one to which something may not be said in answer; and, considered altogether, although they have greater power than separately to work a moral conviction, that is, a proof on which to found a certainty excluding every doubt, I own that nothing seems to me to be more opposed to reason than to say that these characteristics are of themselves capable of producing such a certainty."†

It is not then astonishing, that the Jews and the first Christians, who, we find in the Acts of the Apostles,‡ confined themselves in their meetings to the reading of the Bible, were, as will be seen in the article

* It is amusing to compare this Romish reasoning with the meagre shadow of it in objection to Bible Societies on the part of the High Church Doctors. *Peter*, and *Martin* under the rose, agree to this objection, and whatever the case at present, it is by no means unlikely that Jack, with his opposing band of Pundits, will sooner or later be of one accord with his brethren.—T.

† Treatise on Nature and Grace—The consequences of Toleration, p. 12.

‡ Chap. xv. v. 21.

HERESY, divided into different sects. For this reading was afterwards substituted that of various apocryphal works, or at least of extracts from them. The author of the Synopsis of Scripture, which we find among the works of St. Athanasius, expressly avows* that there are in the apocryphal books things most true and inspired by God, which have been selected and extracted for the perusal of the faithful.

BOURGES.

OUR questions have but little to do with geography; but we shall, perhaps, be permitted to express in a few words our astonishment respecting the town of Bourges. The Trevoux Dictionary asserts, that "it is one of the most ancient in Europe, that it was the seat of empire of the Gauls, and gave laws to the Celts."

I will not combat the antiquity of any town or of any family. But was there ever an empire of Gaul? Had the Celts kings? This rage for antiquity is a malady which is not easily cured. In Gaul, in Germany, and in the north, there is nothing ancient but the soil, the trees, and the animals. If you will have antiquities, go to Asia; and even there they are hardly to be found. Man is ancient, but monuments are new: this has already been said in more articles than one.

If to be born within a certain stone or wooden limit more ancient than another were a real good, it would be no more than reasonable to date the foundation of the town from the Giants' war: but since this vanity is in nowise advantageous, let it be renounced.

This is all I have to say about Bourges.

BRACHMANS—BRAHMINS.

COURTEOUS reader, observe in the first place, that father Thomassin, one of the most learned men of

* Tom. ii. page 134.

modern Europe, derives the Brachmans from the Jewish word *barac*, by a *c*,—supposing, of course, that the Jews had a *c*. This *barac*, says he, signified *to fly*; and the Brachmans fled from the towns,—supposing that there were any towns.

Or, if you like it better, Brachmans comes from *barack* by a *k*, meaning to *bless* or to *pray*. But why might not the Biscayans name the Brahmins from the word *bran*? which expresses—I will not say what. They had as good a right as the Hebrews. Really, this is a strange sort of erudition. By rejecting it entirely, we should know less, but we should know it better.

Is it not likely that the Brahmins were the first legislators, the first philosophers, the first divines, of the earth?

Do not the few remaining monuments of ancient history form a great presumption in their favour? since the first Greek philosophers went to them to learn mathematics; and the most ancient curiosities, those collected by the emperors of China, are all Indian, as is attested by the relations in Du Halde's collection.

Of the Shastah, we shall speak elsewhere. It is the first theological book of the Brahmins, written about fifteen hundred years before their Vedah, and anterior to all other books.

Their annals make no mention of any war undertaken by them at any time. The words *arms*, *killing*, *maiming*, are to be found neither in the fragments of the Shastah that have reached us, nor in the Yajurvedah, nor in the Kormovedah. At least, I can affirm that I have not seen them in either of these two latter collections; and it is most singular that the Shastah, which speaks of a conspiracy in heaven, makes no mention of any war in the great peninsula between the Indus and Ganges.

The Hebrews, who were unknown until so late a period, never name the Brahmins; they knew nothing of India till after Alexander's conquests, and their own settling in that Egypt of which they had spoken so

all. The name of India is to be found only in the book of Esther, and in that of Job, who was not a Hebrew.*

We find a singular contrast between the sacred books of the Hebrews and those of the Indians. The Indian books announce only peace and mildness; they forbid the killing of animals: but the Hebrew books speak of nothing but the slaughter and massacre of men and beasts; all are butchered in the name of the Lord; it is quite another order of things.

We are incontestably indebted to the Brahmins for the idea of the fall of celestial beings revolting against the Sovereign of Nature; and it was probably from them that the Greeks took the fable of the Titans; and lastly, from them it was that the Jews, in the first century of our era, took the idea of Lucifer's revolt.

How could these Indians suppose a rebellion in heaven without having seen one on earth? Such a leap from the human to the divine nature, is difficult of comprehension. We usually step from what is known to what is unknown.

A war of giants would not be imagined, until some men more robust than the rest had been seen to tyrannise over their fellow-men. To imagine the like in heaven, the first Brahmins must either have experienced violent discords among themselves, or at least have witnessed them among their neighbours.

Be this as it may, it is an astonishing phenomenon that a society of men, who have never made war, should have invented a sort of war carried on in imaginary space, or in a globe distant from our own, or in what is called the *firmament*—the *empyrean*.† But let it be carefully observed, that in this revolt of the celestial beings against their Sovereign, there were no blows given, no celestial blood spilt, no mountains thrown at one another's heads, no angels cleft in twain, as in Milton's sublime and grotesque poem.

According to the Shastah, it was only a formal disobedience of the orders of the Most High, which God punished by relegating the rebellious angels to a vast

* See JOB.

† See MATERIAL HEAVEN.

place of darkness called Onderah, for the term of a whole mononhour. A mononhour is a hundred and twenty-six millions of our years. But God vouchsafed to pardon the guilty at the end of five thousand years, and their onderah was nothing more than a purgatory.

He turned them into *Mhurd*, or men, and placed them on our globe, on condition that they should not eat animals, nor cohabit with the males of their new species, on pain of returning to the Onderah.

These are the principal articles of the Brahmin faith, which has endured without intermission from time immemorial to the present day.

This is but a small part of the ancient cosmogony of the Brahmins. Their rites, their pagods, prove that among them all was allegorical. They still represent Virtue in the form of a woman with ten arms, combating ten mortal sins typified by monsters. Our missionaries were acute enough to take this image of Virtue for that of the devil, and affirm that the devil is worshipped in India. We have never visited that people but to enrich ourselves and calumniate them.

The Metempsychosis of the Brahmins.

The doctrine of the metempsychosis comes from an ancient law of feeding on cow's milk as well as on vegetables, fruits, and rice. It seemed horrible to the Brahmins to kill and eat their feeder; and they had soon the same respect for goats, sheep, and all other animals: they believed them to be animated by the rebellious angels, who were completing their purification in the bodies of beasts as well as in those of men. The nature of the climate seconded, or rather originated this law. A burning atmosphere creates a necessity for refreshing food, and inspires horror for our custom of stowing carcases in our stomachs.

The opinion that beasts have souls was general throughout the east, and we find vestiges of it in the ancient sacred writings. In the book of Genesis, God forbids men to eat "their flesh with their blood and their soul." Such is the import of the Hebrew text. "I will avenge," says he, "the blood of your souls on

the claws of beasts and the hands of men."* In Leviticus he says, "The soul of the flesh is in the blood."† He does more; he makes a solemn compact with man and with all animals,‡ which supposes an intelligence in the latter.

In much later times, Ecclesiasticus formally says, "God shows that man is like to the beasts; for men die like beasts; their condition is equal: as man dies, so also dies the beast. They breathe alike. There is nothing in man more than in the beast."§

Jonas, when he went to preach at Nineveh, made both men and beasts fast.

All ancient authors, sacred books as well as profane, attribute knowledge to the beasts; and several make them speak. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Brahmins, and after them the Pythagoreans, believed that souls passed successively into the bodies of beasts and of men: consequently they persuaded themselves, or at least they said, that the souls of the guilty angels, in order to finish their purgation, belonged sometimes to beasts, sometimes to men. This is a part of the jesuit Bougeant's romance, who imagined that the devils are spirits sent into the bodies of animals. Thus, in our day, and at the extremity of the west, a jesuit unconsciously revives an article of the faith of the most ancient Oriental priests.

The Self-burning of Men and Women among the Brahmins.

The Brahmins of the present day, who do all that the ancient Brahmins did, have, we know, retained this horrible custom. Whence is it that, among a people who have never shed the blood of men or of animals, the finest act of devotion is a public self-burning? Superstition, the great uniter of contraries, is the only source of these frightful sacrifices, the custom of which is much more ancient than the laws of any known people.

The Brahmins assert that their great prophet Brama, the son of God, descended among them, and had seven

* Genesis, c. ix. v. 4, 5.

† Genesis, c. ix. v. 10, &c.

‡ Leviticus, c. xvii. v. 14.

§ Ecclesiasticus, c. xviii. v. 19.

ral wives; and that after his death, the wife who loved him the most burned herself on his funeral-pile, that she might join him in heaven. Did this woman really burn herself, as it is said that Portia, the wife of Brutus, swallowed burning coals, in order to be reunited to her husband? or is this a fable invented by the priests? Was there a Brama, who really gave himself out as a prophet and son of God? It is likely that there was a Brama, as there afterwards were a Zoroaster and a Bacchus. Fable seized upon their history, as she has everywhere constantly done.

No sooner does the wife of the son of God burn herself, than ladies of meaner condition must burn themselves likewise. But how are they to find their husbands again, who are become horses, elephants, hawks, &c.? How are they to distinguish the precise beast, which the defunct animates? how to recognize him and be still his wife? This difficulty does not in the least embarrass the Hindoo theologians; they easily find a *distinguo*—a solution in *sensu composito*—in *sensu diviso*. The metempsychosis is only for common people; for other souls they have a sublimer doctrine. These souls, being those of the once rebel angels, go about purifying themselves; those of the women who immolate themselves are beatified, and find their husbands ready-purified. In short, the priests are right, and the women burn themselves.

This dreadful fanaticism has existed for more than four thousand years, amongst a mild people, who would fear to kill a grasshopper. The priests cannot force a widow to burn herself; for the invariable law is, that the self-devotion must be absolutely voluntary. The longest married of the wives of the deceased has the first refusal of the honour of mounting the funeral-pile; if she is not inclined, the second presents herself; and so of the rest. It is said, that on one occasion seventeen burned themselves at once on the pile of a rajah: but these sacrifices are now very rare; the faith has become weaker since the Mahometans have governed a great part of the country, and the Europeans traded with the rest.

Still there is scarcely a governor of Madras or Pondicherry who has not seen some Indian woman voluntarily perish in the flames. Mr. Holwell relates, that a young widow of nineteen, of singular beauty, and the mother of three children, burned herself in the presence of Mrs. Russell, wife to the admiral then in the Madras roads. She resisted the tears and the prayers of all present: Mrs. Russell conjured her, in the name of her children, not to leave them orphans. The Indian woman answered, "God, who has given them birth, will take care of them." She then arranged everything herself, set fire to the pile with her own hand, and consummated her sacrifice with as much serenity as one of our nuns lights the tapers.

Mr. Charnock, an English merchant, one day seeing one of these astonishing victims, young and lovely, on her way to the funeral-pile, dragged her away by force when she was about to set fire to it, and, with the assistance of some of his countrymen, carried her off and married her. The people regarded this act as the most horrible sacrilege.

Why do husbands never burn themselves, that they may join their wives? Why has a sex, naturally weak and timid, always had this frantic resolution? Is it because tradition does not say that a man ever married a daughter of Brama, while it does affirm that an Indian woman was married to a son of that divinity? Is it because women are more superstitious than men; or is it because their imaginations are weaker, more tender, and more easily governed?

The ancient Brahmins sometimes burped themselves to prevent the pains and the languor of old age; but above all, to make themselves admired. Calanus would not, perhaps, have placed himself on the pile, but for the purpose of being gazed at by Alexander. The Christian renegade Peregrinus burned himself in public, for the same reason that a madman goes about the streets dressed like an Armenian, to attract the notice of the populace.

Is there not also an unfortunate mixture of vanity in

this terrible sacrifice of the Indian women? Perhaps, if a law were passed that the burning should take place in the presence of one waiting-woman only, this abominable custom would be for ever destroyed.

One word more.—A few hundreds of Indian women, at most, have furnished this horrid spectacle; but our inquisitions, our atrocious madmen calling themselves judges, have put to death in the flames more than a hundred thousand of our brethren—men, women and children—for things which no one has understood. Let us pity and condemn the Brahmins; but let us not forget our miserable selves!

Truly, we have forgotten one very essential point in this short article on the Brahmins, which is, that their sacred books are full of contradictions; but the people know nothing of them, and the doctors have solutions ready—senses figured and figurative, allegories, types, express declarations of Birma, Brama, and Vishna, sufficient to shut the mouth of any reasoner.

BREAD-TREE.

THE bread-tree grows in the Philippine islands, and principally in those of Guam and Tinian, as the cocoa-tree grows in the Indies. These two trees alone, if they could be multiplied in our climates, would furnish food and drink sufficient for all mankind.

The bread-tree is taller and more bulky than our common apple-trees; its leaves are black, its fruit is yellow, and equal in dimensions to the largest apple. The rind is hard; and the cuticle is a sort of soft white paste, which has the taste of the best French rolls; but it must be eaten fresh, as it keeps only twenty-four hours, after which it becomes dry, sour, and disagreeable; but, as a compensation, the trees are loaded with them eight months of the year. The natives of the islands have no other food; they are all tall, stout, well made, sufficiently fleshy, and in the vigorous health which is necessarily produced by the use of one wholesome aliment alone: and it is to negroes that nature has made this present.

Corn is assuredly not the food of the greater part of the world. Maize and cassava are the food of all America. We have whole provinces in which the peasants eat none but chesnut bread, which is more nourishing and of better flavour than the rye or barley bread on which so many feed, and is much better than the rations given to the soldiers. Bread is unknown in all southern Africa. The immense Indian Archipelago, Siam, Laos, Pegu, Cochin-China, Tonquin, part of China, the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and the banks of the Ganges, produce rice, which is easier of cultivation, and for which wheat is neglected. Corn is absolutely unknown for the space of five hundred leagues on the coast of the Icy Sea.

The missionaries have sometimes been in great tribulation, in countries where neither bread nor wine is to be found. The inhabitants told them by interpreters: "You would baptize us with a few drops of water, in a burning climate, where we are obliged to plunge every day into the rivers; you would confess us, yet you understand not our language; you would have us communicate, yet you want the two necessary ingredients, bread and wine. It is therefore evident that your universal religion cannot have been made for us." The missionaries replied, very justly, that good will is the one thing needful; that they should be plunged into the water without any scruple; that bread and wine should be brought from Goa; and that as for the language, the missionaries would learn it in a few years.

BUFFOONERY—BURLESQUE—LOW COMEDY.

HE was a very subtle schoolman, who first said that we owe the origin of the word *buffoon* to a little Athenian sacrificer called *Bupho*, who, being tired of his employment, absconded, and never returned. The Areopagus, as they could not punish the priest, proceeded against his hatchet. This farce, which was played every year in the temple of Jupiter, is said to have been called *buffoonery*. This story is not entitled to much credit. *Buffoon* was not a proper name; *bouphonos*

signifies an immolator of oxen. The Greeks never called any jest *bouphonia*. This ceremony, frivolous as it appears, might have an origin wise and humane, worthy of true Athenians.

Once a year, the subaltern sacrificer, or more properly the holy butcher, when on the point of immolating an ox, fled as if struck with horror, to put men in mind that in wiser and happier times only flowers and fruits were offered to the gods, and that the barbarity of immolating innocent and useful animals was not introduced until there were priests desirous of fattening on their blood and living at the expense of the people. In this idea there is no buffoonery.

This word *buffoon* has long been received among the Italians and the Spaniards, signifying *mimus*, *scurra*, *joculator*,—a mimic, a jester, a player of tricks. Ménage, after Salmasius, derives it from *bocca infata*—a bloated face; and it is true that a round face and swollen cheeks are requisite in a buffoon. The Italians say *bufo magro*—a meagre buffoon, to express a poor jester who cannot make you laugh.

Buffoon and buffoonery appertain to low comedy, to mountebanking, to all that can amuse the populace. In this it was—to the shame of the human mind be it spoken—that tragedy had its beginning: Thespis was a buffoon before Sophocles was a great man.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish and English tragedies were all degraded by disgusting buffooneries.

The courts were still more disgraced by buffoons than the stage. So strong was the rust of barbarism, that men had no taste for more refined pleasures.

Boileau says of Molière—

C'est par-là que Molière, illustrant ses écrits,
Peut-être de son art eût emporté le prix,
Si, moins ami du peuple en ses doctes peintures,
Il n'eût fait quelquefois grimacer ses figures,
Quitté pour le bouffon l'agréable et le fin,
Et sans honte à Terence allié Tabarin.
Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'enveloppe,
Je ne reconnais plus l'auteur du Misanthrope,

Molière in comic genius had excelled,
And might perhaps have stood unparalleled,
Had he his faithful portraits ne'er allowed
To gape and grin to gratify the crowd ;
Deserting wit for low grimace and jest,
And showing Terence in a motley vest.
Who in the sack, where Scapin plays the fool,
Will find the genius of the comic school ?

But it must be considered that Raphael condescended to paint grotesque figures. Molière would not have descended so low, if all his spectators had been such men as Louis XIV. Condé, Turenne, La Rochefoucault, Montausier, Beauvilliers, and such women as Montespan and Thiangés ; but he had also to please the whole people of Paris, who were yet quite unpolished. The citizen liked broad farce, and he paid for it. Scarron's "Jodelets" were all the rage. We are obliged to place ourselves on the level of our age, before we can rise above it ; and, after all, we like to laugh now and then. What is Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice, but a piece of buffoonery—a burlesque poem ?

Works of this kind give no reputation, but they may take from that which we already enjoy.

Buffoonery is not always in the burlesque style. The Physician in spite of Himself, and the Rogueries of Scapin, are not in the style of Scarron's "Jodelets." Molière does not, like Scarron, go in search of slang terms ; his lowest characters do not play the mountebank. Buffoonery is in the thing, not in the expression.

Boileau's *Lutrin* was at first called a burlesque poem, but it was the subject that was burlesque ; the style was pleasing and refined, and sometimes even heroic.

The Italians had another kind of burlesque, much superior to ours—that of Aretin, of archbishop La Caza, of Berni, Mauro, and Dolce. It often sacrifices decorum to pleasantry, but obscene words are wholly banished from it. The subject of archbishop La Caza's *Capitolo del Forno* is, indeed, that which sends the Desfontaines to the Bicêtre, and the Deschaufours to the Place de Grève : but there is not one word offensive to the ear of chastity ; you have to divine the meaning.

Three or four Englishmen have excelled in this way : Butler, in his *Hudibras*, which was the civil war excited by the Puritans turned into ridicule ; Dr. Garth, in his *Dispensary* ; Prior, in his *Alma*, in which he very pleasantly makes a jest of his subject ; and Phillips, in his *Splendid Shilling*.

Butler is as much above Scarron as a man accustomed to good company is above a singer at a pot-house. The hero of *Hudibras* was a real personage, one Sir Samuel Luke, who had been a captain in the armies of Fairfax and Cromwell. See the commencement of the poem, in the article PRIOR, BUTLER, and SWIFT.

Garth's poem on the physicians and apothecaries is not so much in the burlesque style as in that of Boileau's *Lutrin* : it has more imagination, variety, and naïveté than the *Lutrin* ; and, which is rather astonishing, it displays profound erudition, embellished with all the graces of refinement. It begins thus :—

Speak, Goddess, since 'tis thou that best canst tell
How ancient leagues to modern discord fell ;
And why physicians were so cautious grown
Of others' lives, and lavish of their own.

Prior, whom we have seen a plenipotentiary in France before the peace of Utrecht, assumed the office of mediator between the philosophers who dispute about the soul. This poem is in the style of *Hudibras*, called *doggrel rhyme*,* which is the *stilo Berniesco* of the Italians.

The great first question is, whether the soul is all in all, or is lodged behind the nose and eyes in a corner which it never quits. According to the latter system, Prior compares it to the pope, who constantly remains at Rome, from whence he sends his nuncios and spies to learn all that is doing in Christendom.

Prior, after making a jest of several systems, proposes his own. He remarks that the two-legged animal, new-born, throws about its feet as much as pos-

* *Alma* is in octosyllabic, but not *doggrel* verse, even allowing that the versification of *Hudibras* is properly so denominated.

sible, when its nurse is so stupid as to swaddle it: thence he judges that the soul enters it by the feet; that about fifteen it reaches the middle; then it ascends to the heart; then to the head, which it quits altogether when the animal ceases to live.

At the end of this singular poem, full of ingenious versification, and of ideas alike subtle and pleasing, we find this charming line of Fontenelle—

Il est des hochets pour tout âge.

Prior begs of Fortune to

Give us play-things for old age.

Yet it is quite certain that Fontenelle did not take this line from Prior, nor Prior from Fontenelle. Prior's work is twenty years anterior, and Fontenelle did not understand English.

The poem terminates with this conclusion:—

For Plato's fancies what care I?
I hope you would not have me die
Like simple Cato in the play,
For anything that he can say:
E'en let him of ideas speak
To heathens, in his native Greek.
If to be sad is to be wise,
I do most heartily despise
Whatever Socrates has said,
Or Tully writ, or Wanley read.
Dear Drift,* to set our matters right,
Remove these papers from my sight;
Burn Mat's Descartes and Aristotle—
Here, Jonathan,—your master's bottle.

In all these poems let us distinguish the pleasant, the lively, the natural, the familiar—from the grotesque, the farcical, the low, and, above all, the stiff and forced. These various shades are discriminated by the connoisseurs, who alone, in the end, decide the fate of every work.

La Fontaine would sometimes descend to the burlesque style—Phædrus never; but the latter has not the grace and unaffected softness of La Fontaine, though he has greater precision and purity.

* Prior's secretary and executor.

BULGARIANS.

THESE people were originally Huns, who settled near the Volga; and *Volgarians* was easily changed into *Bulgarians*.

About the end of the seventh century they, like all the other nations inhabiting Sarmatia, made irruptions towards the Danube, and inundated the Roman empire. They passed through Moldavia and Wallachia, whither their old fellow-countrymen, the Russians, carried their victorious arms in 1769, under the empress Catherine II.

Having crossed the Danube, they settled in part of Dacia and Mœsia, giving their name to the countries which are still called Bulgaria. Their dominion extended to Mount Hæmus and the Euxine Sea.

In Charlemagne's time, the emperor Nicephorus, successor to Irene, was so imprudent as to march against them after being vanquished by the Saracens; and he was in like manner defeated by the Bulgarians. Their king, named Krom, cut off his head, and made use of his skull as a drinking-cup at his table, according to the custom of that people in common with nearly all the northern nations.

It is related that, in the ninth century, one Bogoris, who was making war upon the princess Theodora, mother and tutress to the emperor Michael, was so charmed with that empress's noble answer to his declaration of war, that he turned Christian.

The Bulgarians, who were less complaisant, revolted against him; but Bogoris, having shown them a crucifix, they all immediately received baptism. So say the Greek writers of the lower empire, and so say our compilers after them.

Et voilà justement comme on écrit l'histoire.

Theodora, say they, was a very religious princess, even passing her latter years in a convent. Such was her love for the Greek catholic religion, that she put to death in various ways a hundred thousand men accused

of Manicheism,* "this being," says the modest continuator of Echard, "the most impious, the most detestable, the most dangerous, the most abominable of all heresies, for ecclesiastical censures were weapons of no avail against men who acknowledged not the church."

It is said that the Bulgarians, seeing that all the Manicheans suffered death, immediately conceived an inclination for their religion, and thought it the best, since it was the most persecuted one: but this, for Bulgarians, would be extraordinarily acute.

At that time, the great schism broke out more violently than ever between the Greek church, under the patriarch Photius, and the Latin church, under pope Nicholas I. The Bulgarians took part with the Greek church; and from that time, probably, it was that they were treated in the west as heretics, with the addition of that fine epithet, which has clung to them to the present day.

In 871, the emperor Basil sent them a preacher, named Peter of Sicily, to save them from the heresy of Manicheism; and it is added, that they no sooner heard him than they turned Manicheans. It is not very surprising that the Bulgarians, who drank out of the skulls of their enemies, were not extraordinary theologians any more than Peter of Sicily.

It is singular that these barbarians, who could neither write nor read, should have been regarded as very knowing heretics, with whom it was dangerous to dispute. They certainly had other things to think of than controversy, since they carried on a sanguinary war against the emperors of Constantinople for four successive centuries, and even besieged the capital of the empire.

At the commencement of the thirteenth century, the emperor Alexis, wishing to make himself recognised by the Bulgarians, their king Joannic replied, that he would never be his vassal. Pope Innocent III. was careful to seize this opportunity of attaching the kingdom of Bulgaria to himself: he sent a legate to Joannic,

* *Histoire Romaine*—a pretended translation from Lawrence Echard, tom. ii. p. 240.

to anoint him king; and pretended that he had conferred the kingdom upon him, and that he could never more hold it but from the holy see.

This was the most violent period of the crusades. The indignant Bulgarians entered into alliance with the Turks, declared war against the pope and his crusaders, took the pretended emperor Baldwin prisoner, had his head cut off, and made a bowl of his skull, after the manner of Krom. This was quite enough to make the Bulgarians abhorred by all Europe. It was no longer necessary to call them Manicheans, a name which was at that time given to every class of heretics: for Manichean, Patarin, and Vaudois, were the same thing. These terms were lavished upon whosoever would not submit to the Roman church.

BULL.

A QUADRUPED, armed with horns, having cloven feet, strong legs, a slow pace, a thick body, a hard skin, a tail not quite so long as that of the horse, with some long hairs at the end. Its blood has been looked upon as a poison, but it is no more so than that of other animals; and the ancients, who wrote that Themistocles and others poisoned themselves with bull's blood, were false both to nature and to history. Lucian, who reproaches Jupiter with having placed the bull's horns above his eyes, reproaches him unjustly; for the eye of a bull being large, round, and open, he sees very well where he strikes; and if his eyes had been placed higher than his horns, he could not have seen the grass which he crops.

Phalaris's bull, or the Brazen Bull, was a bull of cast metal, found in Sicily, and supposed to have been used by Phalaris to enclose and burn such as he chose to punish;—a very unlikely species of cruelty.

The bulls of Medea guarded the Golden Fleece.

The bull of Marathon was tamed by Hercules.

Then there were—the bull which carried off Europa, the bull of Mithras, and the bull of Osiris.

There are—the Bull, a sign of the zodiac; and the Bull's Eye, a star of the first magnitude.

And lastly, there are bull-fights, common in Spain.

BULL (PAPAL).

THIS word designates the bull, or seal of gold, silver, wax, or lead, attached to any instrument or charter. The lead hanging to the rescripts despatched in the Roman court, bears on one side the head of St. Peter on the right, and that of St. Paul on the left; and, on the reverse, the name of the reigning pope, with the year of his pontificate. The bull is written on parchment. In the greeting, the pope takes no title but that of “Servant of the Servants of God,” according to the holy words of Jesus to his disciples—“Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.”*

Some heretics assert that, by this formula, humble in appearance, the popes mean to express a sort of feudal system, of which God is chief; whose high vassals, Peter and Paul, are represented by their servant the pontiff; while the lesser vassals are all secular princes, whether emperors, kings, or dukes.

They doubtless found this assertion on the famous bull *In cæna Domini*, which is publicly read at Rome by a cardinal-deacon every year, on Holy Thursday, in the presence of the pope, attended by the rest of the cardinals and bishops. After the ceremony, his holiness casts a lighted torch into the public square, in token of anathema.

This bull is to be found in tom. i. page 714 of the *Bullaire*, published at Lyons in 1673, and at page 118 of the edition of 1727. The oldest is dated 1536. Paul III. without noticing the origin of the ceremony, here says, that it is an ancient custom of the sovereign pontiffs to publish this excommunication on Holy Thursday, in order to preserve the purity of the Christian religion, and maintain union among the faithful. It contains twenty-four paragraphs, in which the pope excommunicates—

* Matthew, chap. xx. v. 27.

1. Heretics, all who favour them, and all who read their books.

2. Pirates, especially such as dare to cruise on the seas belonging to the sovereign pontiff.

3. Those who impose fresh tolls on their lands.

10. Those who, in any way whatsoever, prevent the execution of the apostolical letters, whether they grant pardons or inflict penalties.

11. All lay judges who judge ecclesiastics and bring them before their tribunal, whether that tribunal is called an *audience*, a *chancery*, a *council*, or a *parliament*.

12. All who have made or published, or shall make or publish, edicts, regulations, or pragmatics, by which the liberties of the church, the rights of the pope, and those of the holy see, shall be injured or curtailed in the least particular, expressly or tacitly.

14. All chancellors, counsellors ordinary or extraordinary, of any king or prince whatsoever, all presidents of chanceries, councils, or parliaments, as also all attorney-generals, who call ecclesiastical causes before them, or prevent the execution of the apostolical letters, even though it be on pretext of preventing some violence.

In the same paragraph, the pope reserves to himself alone the power of absolving the said chancellors, counsellors, attorney-generals, and the rest of the excommunicated; who cannot receive absolution until they have publicly revoked their acts, and have erased them from the records.

20. Lastly, the pope excommunicates all such as shall presume to give absolution to the excommunicated as aforesaid; and, in order that no one may plead ignorance, he orders—

21. That this bull be published, and posted on the gate of the basilic of the Prince of the Apostles, and on that of St. John of Lateran.

22. That all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, by virtue of their holy obedience, shall have this bull solemnly published at least once a year.

24. He declares that whosoever dares to go against the provisions of this bull, must know that he is incur-

ring the displeasure of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.*

The other subsequent bulls, called also *In cæna Domini*, are only duplicates of the first. For instance, the article 21 of that of Pius V. dated 1567, adds to the paragraph 3 of the one we have quoted, that all princes who lay new impositions on their states, of what nature soever, or increase the old ones, without obtaining permission from the Holy See, are excommunicated *ipso facto*.

The third bull *In cæna Domini*, of 1610, contains thirty paragraphs, in which Paul V. renews the provisions of the two preceding.

The fourth and last bull *In cæna Domini* which we find in the Bullaire, is dated April 1st, 1627. In it Urban VIII. announces that, after the example of his predecessors, in order inviolably to maintain the integrity of the faith, and public justice and tranquillity, he wields the spiritual sword of ecclesiastical discipline to excommunicate, on the day which is the anniversary of the Supper of our Lord—

1. Heretics.

2. Such as appeal from the pope to a future council;—and the rest as in the three former.

It is said that the one which is read now, is of a more recent date, and contains some additions.

The History of Naples, by Giannone, shows us what disorders the ecclesiastics stirred up in that kingdom, and what vexations they exercised against the king's subjects, even refusing them absolution and the sacraments, in order to effect the reception of this bull, which has at last been solemnly proscribed there, as well as in Austrian Lombardy, in the states of the empress-queen, in those of the duke of Parma, and elsewhere.†

* It is scarcely necessary to remark upon the service done by Voltaire in the exposure of these priestly vagaries, not to scholars who were aware of them, but to the entire population of a country like France.—T.

† Pope Ganganelli, being informed of the determinations of all catholic princes, and seeing that every people who had been

In 1580, the French clergy chose the time between the sessions of the parliament of Paris, to have the same bull *In cæna Domini* published. But it was opposed by the procureur-general; and the *Chambre des Vacations*, under the presidency of the celebrated and unfortunate Brisson, on the 4th of October, passed a decree, enjoining all governors to inform themselves, if possible, what archbishops, bishops, or grand-vicars, had received either this bull or a copy of it entitled *Litteræ processus*, and who had sent it to them to be published; to prevent the publication, if it had not yet taken place; to obtain the copies and send them to the chamber; or, if they had been published, to summon the archbishops, the bishops, or their grand-vicars, to appear on a certain day before the chamber, to answer to the suit of the procureur-general; and, in the mean time, to seize their temporal possessions and place them in the hands of the king; to forbid all persons from obstructing the execution of this decree, on pain of punishment as traitors and enemies to the state; with orders that the decree be printed, and that the copies, collated by notaries, have the full force of the original.

In doing this, the parliament did but feebly imitate Philip the Fair. The bull *Ausculta Fili*, of the 5th December, 1301, was addressed to him by Boniface VIII. who, after exhorting the king to listen with docility, says to him—"God has established us over all kings and all kingdoms, to root up, and destroy, and throw down, to build, and to plant, in his name and by his doctrine. Do not then suffer yourself to be persuaded that you have no superior, and that you are not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Whosoever thinks this, is a madman, and whosoever obstinately maintains it, is an infidel, separated from the flock of the Good Shepherd." The pope then enters into long details respecting the government of France, even reproaching the king for having altered the coin.

Philip the Fair had this bull burned at Paris, and its

deprived of both eyes by his predecessors, were beginning to open one of them, omitted the publication of this famous bull in the year 1770.

execution published by sound of trumpet throughout the city, on Sunday the 11th February, 1302. The pope, in a council which he held at Rome the same year, made a great noise, and broke out into threats against Philip the Fair; but he did no more than threaten. The famous decretal *Unam Sanctam* is, however, considered as the work of this council; it is, in substance, as follows—

“ We believe and confess a holy, catholic, and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation; we also acknowledge its unity, that it is one only body with one only head, and not with two, like a monster. This only head is Jesus Christ, and St. Peter his vicar, and the successor of St. Peter. Therefore the Greeks, or others, who say that they are not subject to that successor, must acknowledge that they are not of the flock of Christ, since he himself has said (John, ch. x. v. 16) “ that there is but one fold and one shepherd.”

“ We learn that in this church, and under its power, are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal: of these, one is to be used by the church and by the hand of the pontiff; the other, by the church and by the hand of kings and warriors, in pursuance of the orders or with the permission of the pontiff. Now, one of these swords must be subject to the other, temporal to spiritual power; otherwise, they would not be ordinate, and the apostle says they must be so. (Rom. chap. xiii. v. 1.) According to the testimony of truth, spiritual power must institute and judge temporal power; and thus is verified with regard to the church, the prophesy of Jeremiah (chap. i. v. 10.)—“ I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms,” &c.

On the other hand, Philip the Fair assembled the states-general; and the commons, in the petition which they presented to that monarch, said, in so many words—“ It is a great abomination for us to hear that this Boniface stoutly interprets like a *Boulgare* (dropping the *l* and the *a*) these words of spirituality (Matthew, chap. xvi. v. 19.)—“ Whatever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven;”—as if this signified

that if a man be put into a temporal prison, God will imprison him in heaven."

Clement V. successor to Boniface VIII. revoked and annulled the odious decision of the bull *Unam Sanctam*, which extends the power of the popes to the temporalities of kings, and condemns as heretics all who do not acknowledge this chimerical power. Boniface's pretension, indeed, ought to be condemned as heresy, according to this maxim of theologians—"Not only is it a sin against the rules of the faith, and a heresy, to deny what the faith teaches us, but also to set up as part of the faith that which is no part of it." (Joan. Maj. m. 3, sent. dist. 37. q. 26.)

Other popes, before Boniface VIII. had arrogated to themselves the right of property over different kingdoms. The bull is well known, in which Gregory VII. says to the king of Spain—"I would have you to know, that the kingdom of Spain, by ancient ecclesiastical ordinances, was given in property to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church."

Henry II. of England asked permission of pope Adrian IV. to invade Ireland. The pontiff gave him leave, on condition that he imposed on every Irish family a tax of one *carolus* for the Holy See, and held that kingdom as a fief of the Roman church,—“For,” wrote Adrian, “it cannot be doubted that every island upon which Jesus Christ, the sun of justice, has arisen, and which has received the lessons of the Christian faith, belongs of right to St. Peter and to the holy and sacred Roman church.”

Bulls of the Crusade and of Composition.

If an African or an Asiatic of sense were told, that in that part of Europe where some men have forbidden others to eat flesh on Saturdays, the pope gives them leave to eat it, by a bull, for the sum of two rials, and that another bull grants permission to keep stolen money,—what would this African or Asiatic say? He would at least agree with us, that every country has its customs; and that in this world, by whatever names things

may be called, or however they may be disguised, all is done for money.

There are two bulls under the name of *La Cruzada*—the Crusade; one of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, the other of that of Philip V. The first of these sells permission to eat what is called the *grossura*, viz. tripes, livers, kidneys, gizzards, sweetbreads, lights, plucks, cauls, heads, necks, and feet.

The second bull, granted by pope Urban VIII. gives leave to eat meat throughout Lent, and absolves from every crime except heresy.

Not only are these bulls sold, but people are ordered to buy them; and, as is but right, they cost more in Peru and Mexico than in Spain; they are there sold for a piastre. It is reasonable that the countries which produce gold and silver should pay more than others.

The pretext for these bulls is, making war upon the Moors. There are persons, difficult of conviction, who cannot see what livers and kidneys have to do with a war against the Africans; and they add, that Jesus Christ never ordered war to be made on the Mahometans on pain of excommunication.

The bull giving permission to keep another's goods, is called the bull of *Composition*. It is farmed; and has long brought considerable sums throughout Spain, the Milanese, Naples, and Sicily. The highest bidders employ the most eloquent of the monks to preach this bull. Sinners who have robbed the king, the state, or private individuals, go to these preachers, confess to them, and show them what a sad thing it would be to make restitution of the whole. They offer the monks five, six, and sometimes seven per cent., in order to keep the rest with a safe conscience; and, as soon as the composition is made, they receive absolution.*

* The priest-ridden animals who allowed these bulls to be sold in their respective communities, exhibit an admirable proof of the stupifying, the brutalizing effects of superstition. It is to be doubted if so gross an attack upon the moral sense of mankind was ever tolerated *out* of Europe and its dependencies, or under the most barbarous of the religious systems in the other three quarters of the globe.—T.

The preaching brother who wrote the *Travels through Spain and Italy* (*Voyage d'Espagne et d'Italie*), published at Paris, *avec privilège*, by Jean-Baptiste de l'Epine, speaking of this bull, thus expresses himself:—"Is it not very gracious to come off at so little cost, and be at liberty to steal more, when one has occasion for a larger sum?"

Bull Unigenitus.

The bull *In cœna Domini* was an indignity offered to all catholic sovereigns, and they at length proscribed it in their states; but the bull *Unigenitus* was a trouble to France alone. The former attacked the rights of the princes and magistrates of Europe, and they maintained those rights; the latter proscribed only some maxims of piety and morals, which gave no concern to any except the parties interested in the transient affair; but these interested parties soon filled all France. It was at first a quarrel between the all-powerful Jesuits and the remains of the crushed Port-Royal.

Quesnel, a preacher of the Oratory, a refugee in Holland, had dedicated a commentary on the New Testament to cardinal De Noailles, then bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne. It met the bishop's approbation, and was well received by all readers of that sort of books.

One Le Tellier, a Jesuit, confessor to Louis XIV. and an enemy to cardinal De Noailles, resolved to mortify him by having the book, which was dedicated to him, and of which he had a very high opinion, condemned at Rome.

This Jesuit, the son of an attorney at Vire in Lower Normandy, had all that fertility of expedient for which his father's profession is remarkable. Not content with embroiling cardinal De Noailles with the pope, he determined to have him disgraced by the king his master. To ensure the success of this design, he had mandaments composed against him by his emissaries, and got them signed by four bishops; he also indited letters to the king, which he made them sign.

These manœuvres, which would have been punished in any of the tribunals, succeeded at court: the king was soured against the cardinal, and madame de Maintenon abandoned him.

Here was a series of intrigues, in which, from one end of the kingdom to the other, every one took a part. The more unfortunate France at that time became in a disastrous war, the more the public mind was heated by a theological quarrel.

During these movements, Le Tellier had the condemnation of Quesnel's book, of which the monarch had never read a page, demanded from Rome by Louis XIV. himself. Le Tellier and two other Jesuits, named Doucin and Lallemant, extracted one hundred and three propositions, which pope Clement XI. was to condemn. The court of Rome struck out two of them, that it might at least have the honour of appearing to judge for itself.

Cardinal Fabroni, in whose hands the affair was placed, and who was devoted to the Jesuits, had the bull drawn up by a Cordelier named father Palerno, Elio a Capuchin, Terrovi a Barnabite, and Castelli a Servite, to whom was added a Jesuit named Alfaro.

Clement XI. let them proceed in their own way. His only object was to please the king of France, who had long been displeased with him on account of his recognising the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor, as king of Spain. To make his peace with the king, it cost him only a piece of parchment sealed with lead, concerning a question which he himself despised.

Clement XI. did not wait to be solicited; he sent the bull, and was quite astonished to learn that it was received throughout France with hisses and groans. "What!" said he to cardinal Carpegno, "a bull is earnestly asked of me; I give it freely, and every one makes a jest of it!"

Every one was indeed surprised to see a pope, in the name of Jesus Christ, condemning as heretical, tainted with heresy, and offensive to pious ears, this proposition—"It is good to read books of piety on Sundays, especially the Holy Scriptures;" and this—"The fear

of an unjust excommunication should not prevent us from doing our duty."

The partisans of the Jesuits were themselves alarmed at these censures, but they dared not speak. The wise and disinterested exclaimed against the scandal, and the rest of the nation against the absurdity.

Nevertheless, Le Tellier triumphed, until the death of Louis XIV.: he was held in abhorrence, but he governed. This wretch tried every means to procure the suspension of cardinal De Noailles; but after the death of his penitent, the incendiary was banished. The duke of Orleans, during his regency, extinguished these quarrels by making a jest of them. They have since thrown out a few sparks; but they are at last forgotten, probably for ever. Their duration, for more than half a century, was quite long enough. Yet, happy, indeed would mankind be, if they were divided only by foolish questions unproductive of bloodshed!

CÆSAR.

It is not as the husband of so many women and the wife of so many men,—as the conqueror of Pompey and the Scipios,—as the satirist who turned Cato into ridicule,—as the robber of the public treasury, who employed the money of the Romans to reduce the Romans to subjection,—as he who, clement in his triumphs, pardoned the vanquished,—as the man of learning, who reformed the calendar,—as the tyrant and the father of his country, assassinated by his friends and his bastard son,—that I shall here speak of Cæsar. I shall consider this extraordinary man only in my quality of descendant from the poor barbarians whom he subjugated.

You will not pass through a town in France, in Spain, on the banks of the Rhine, or on the English coast opposite to Calais, in which you will not find good people who boast of having had Cæsar there. Some of the townspeople of Dover are persuaded that Cæsar built their castle; and there are citizens of Paris who believe that the great *châtelet* is one of his fine works. Many

a country squire in France shows you an old turret which serves him for a dove-cote, and tells you that Cæsar provided a lodging for his pigeons. Each province disputes with its neighbour the honour of having been the first to which Cæsar applied the lash: it was not by that road but by this, that he came to cut our throats, embrace our wives and daughters, impose laws upon us by interpreters, and take from us what little money we had.

The Indians are wiser. We have already seen that they have a confused knowledge that a great robber, named Alexander, came among them with other robbers; but they scarcely ever speak of him.

An Italian antiquary, passing a few years ago through Vannes in Brittany, was quite astonished to hear the learned men of Vannes boast of Cæsar's stay in their town. "No doubt," said he, "you have monuments of that great man?" "Yes," answered the most notable among them, "we will show you the place where that hero had the whole senate of our province hanged, to the number of six hundred!"

"Some ignorant fellows, who had found a hundred beams under ground, advanced in the journals, in 1755, that they were the remains of a bridge built by Cæsar; but I proved to them, in my dissertation of 1756, that they were the gallows on which that hero had our parliament tied up. What other town in Gaul can say as much? We have the testimony of the great Cæsar himself. He says, in his Commentaries, that we 'are fickle, and prefer liberty to slavery.'* He charges us with having been so insolent as to take hostages of the Romans, to whom we had given hostages, and to be unwilling to return them unless our own were given up. He taught us good behaviour."

"He did well," replied the virtuoso, "his right was incontestable. It was, however, disputed; for you know that when he had vanquished the emigrant Swiss, to the number of three hundred and sixty-eight thousand, and there were not more than a hundred and ten

* De Bello Gallico, lib. iii.

thousand left, he had a conference in Alsace with a German king named Ariovistus, and Ariovistus said to him—"I come to plunder Gaul, and I will not suffer any one to plunder it but myself;"—after which these good Germans, who were come to lay waste the country, put into the hands of their witches two Roman knights, ambassadors from Cæsar; and these witches were on the point of burning them and offering them to their gods, when Cæsar came and delivered them by a victory. We must confess that the right on both sides was equal, and that Tacitus had good reason for bestowing so many praises on the manners of the ancient Germans."

This conversation gave rise to a very warm dispute between the learned men of Vannes and the antiquary. Several of the Bretons could not conceive what was the virtue of the Romans, in deceiving one after another all the nations of Gaul, in making them by turns the instruments of their own ruin, in butchering one-fourth of the people, and reducing the other three-fourths to slavery.

"Oh! nothing can be finer," returned the antiquary. "I have in my pocket a medal representing Cæsar's triumph at the Capitol; it is in the best preservation." He showed the medal. A Breton, a little rude, took it and threw it into the river, exclaiming—"Oh! that I could so serve all who use their power and their skill to oppress their fellow-men! Rome deceived us, disunited us, butchered us, chained us; and at this day, Rome still disposes of many of our benefices;—and is it possible that we have so long and so many ways been a country of slaves?"

To the conversation between the Italian antiquary and the Breton, I shall only add, that Perrot d'Ablancourt, the translator of Cæsar's Commentaries, in his dedication to the great Condé, makes use of these words—"Does it not seem to you, sir, as if you were reading the life of some Christian philosopher?" Cæsar a Christian philosopher! I wonder he has not been made a saint. Writers of dedications are remarkable for saying fine things, and much to the purpose.*

* Keen, searching, and unanswerable satire!—T.

CALENDS.

THE feast of the Circumcision, which the church celebrates on the first of January, has taken the place of another called the Feast of the Calends, of Asses, of Fools, or of Innocents, according to the different places where and the different days on which it was held. It was most commonly at Christmas, the Circumcision, or the Epiphany.

In the cathedral of Rouen there was, on Christmas-day, a procession, in which ecclesiastics, chosen for the purpose, represented the prophets of the Old Testament who foretold the birth of the Messiah, and (which may have given the feast its name) Balaam appeared, mounted on a she-ass; but, as Lactantius's poem, and the Book of Promises, under the name of St. Prosper, say that Jesus in the manger was recognised by the ox and the ass, according to the passage of Isaiah—"The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib" (a circumstance, however, which neither the gospel nor the ancient fathers have remarked) it is more likely that, from this opinion, the Feast of the Ass took its name.

Indeed, the Jesuit Theophilus Raynaud testifies that, on St. Stephen's day, there was sung a hymn of the Ass, which was also called the Prose of Fools; and that on St. John's day another was sung, called the Prose of the Ox. In the library of the chapter of Sens, there is preserved a manuscript on vellum, with miniature figures representing the ceremonies of the Feast of Fools. The text contains a description of it, including this Prose of the Ass; it was sung by two choirs, who imitated at intervals, and as the burden of the song, the braying of that animal.*

There was elected in the cathedral churches a bishop or archbishop of the Fools, which election was confirmed by all sorts of buffooneries, played off by

* For a full description of this egregious ceremony, see Hone's "Religious Mysteries," p. 162.

way of consecration. This bishop officiated pontifically, and gave his blessing to the people, before whom he appeared bearing the mitre, the crosier, and even the archiepiscopal cross. In those churches which held immediately from the Holy See, a pope of the Fools was elected, who officiated in all the decorations of papacy. All the clergy assisted at the mass, some dressed in women's apparel, others as buffoons, or masked in a grotesque and ridiculous manner. Not content with singing licentious songs in the choir, they sat and played at dice on the altar, at the side of the officiator. When mass was over, they ran, leaped and danced about the church, uttering obscene words, singing immodest songs, and putting themselves in a thousand indecent postures, sometimes exposing themselves almost naked. They then had themselves drawn about the streets, in tumbrels full of filth, that they might throw it at the mob which gathered round them. The looser part of the seculars would mix among the clergy, that they might play some fool's part in an ecclesiastical habit.

This feast was held in the same manner in the convents of monks and nuns, as Naudé testifies in his complaint to Gassendi, in 1645, in which he relates that, at Antibes, in the Franciscan monastery, neither the officiating monks nor the guardian went to the choir on the day of the Innocents. The lay-brethren occupied their places on that day, and, clothed in sacerdotal decorations, torn and turned inside out, made a sort of office. They held books turned upside down, which they seemed to be reading through spectacles, the glasses of which were made of orange-peel; and muttered confused words, or uttered strange cries, accompanied by extravagant contortions.*

The second register of the church of Autun, by the secretary Rotarii, which ends with 1416, says, without specifying the day, that at the feast of Fools, an ass was led along with a clergyman's cape on his back, the attendants singing—He haw! Mr. Ass, He haw!

* The readers of the Scottish Novels will find some use made of this mummery in "The Abbot."—T.

Ducange relates a sentence of the officialty of Viviers, upon one William, who, having been elected fool-bishop in 1406, had refused to perform the solemnities, and to defray the expenses customary on such occasions.

And, to conclude, the registers of St. Stephen, at Dijon, in 1521, declare, without mentioning the day, that the vicars ran about the streets with drums, fifes, and other instruments, and carried lamps before the *préchantre* of the Fools, to whom the honour of the feast principally belonged. But the parliament of that city, by a decree of the 19th January, 1552, forbade the celebration of this feast, which had already been condemned by several councils, and especially by a circular of the 11th March, 1444, sent to all the clergy in the kingdom by the Paris university. This letter, which we find at the end of the works of Peter of Blois, says, that this feast was, in the eyes of the clergy, so well-imagined and so christian, that those who sought to suppress it were looked on as excommunicated; and the Sorbonne doctor, John Des Lyons, in his discourse against the paganism of the Roi-boit, informs us, that a doctor of divinity publicly maintained at Auxerre, about the close of the fifteenth century, "that the feast of Fools was no less pleasing to God than the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin; besides, that it was of much higher antiquity in the church."

CANNIBALS.

SECTION I.

WE have spoken of love.* It is hard to pass from people *kissing* to people *eating* one another. It is, however, but too true, that there have been cannibals. We have found them in America; they are, perhaps, still to be found; and the Cyclops were not the only individuals in antiquity who sometimes fed on human flesh. Juvenal relates, that among the Egyptians—

* The article *Amour* precedes this article in the original.—
See the article LOVE.

that wise people, so renowned for their laws—those pious worshippers of crocodiles and onions—the Tentyrites ate one of their enemies, who had fallen into their hands. He does not tell this tale on hearsay; the crime was committed almost before his eyes; he was then in Egypt, and not far from Tentyra. On this occasion he quotes the Gascons and the Saguntines, who formerly fed on the flesh of their countrymen.

In 1725, four savages were brought from the Mississippi to Fontainebleau, with whom I had the honour of conversing. There was among them a lady of the country, whom I asked if she had eaten men; she answered, with great simplicity, that she had. I appeared somewhat scandalized; on which she excused herself by saying, that it was better to eat one's dead enemy than to leave him to be devoured by wild beasts, and that the conquerors deserved to have the preference. We kill our neighbours in battles, or skirmishes; and, for the meanest consideration, provide meals for the crows and the worms. There is the horror; there is the crime. What matters it, when a man is dead, whether he is eaten by a soldier, or by a dog and a crow?

We have more respect for the dead than for the living. It would be better to respect both the one and the other. The nations called polished have done right in not putting their vanquished enemies on the spit; for if we were allowed to eat our neighbours, we should soon eat our countrymen, which would be rather unfortunate for the social virtues. But polished nations have not always been so: they were all for a long time savage; and, in the infinite number of revolutions which this globe has undergone, mankind have been sometimes numerous, and sometimes very scarce. It has been with human beings as it now is with elephants, lions, or tigers, the race of which has very much decreased. In times, when a country was but thinly inhabited by men, they had few arts; they were hunters. The custom of eating what they had killed, easily led them to treat their enemies like their stags and their boars. It was superstition that caused

human victims to be immolated; it was necessity that caused them to be eaten.

Which is the greater crime?—to assemble piously together to plunge a knife into the heart of a girl adorned with fillets, or to eat a worthless man who has been killed in our own defence.

Yet we have many more instances of girls and boys sacrificed, than of girls and boys eaten. Almost every nation of which we know anything has sacrificed boys and girls. The Jews immolated them. This was called *the Anathema*: it was a real sacrifice; and in Leviticus, it is ordained that the living souls which shall be devoted shall not be spared: but it is not in any manner prescribed that they shall be eaten; this is only threatened. Moses tells the Jews, that unless they observe his ceremonies, they shall not only have the itch, but the mothers shall eat their children. It is true, that in the time of Ezekiel, the Jews must have been accustomed to eat human flesh; for, in his thirty-ninth chapter,* he foretels to them that God will cause them to eat, not only the horses of their enemies, but moreover the horsemen and the rest of the warriors. And, indeed, why should not the Jews have been cannibals? It was the only thing wanting to make the people of God the most abominable people upon earth.

SECTION II.

In the Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations, we read the following singular passage—

“Herrera assures us that the Mexicans ate the human victims which they immolated. Most of the first travellers and missionaries say that the Brazilians, the Caribbees, the Iroquois, the Hurons, and some other tribes, ate their captives taken in war; and they do not consider this as the practice of some individuals only, but as a national usage. So many writers, ancient and modern, have spoken of cannibals, that it is difficult to deny their existence. A hunting people,

* See Note, in Sec. ii. p. 84.

like the Brazilians or the Canadians, not always having a certain subsistence, may sometimes become cannibals. Famine and revenge accustomed them to this kind of food; and while, in the most civilized ages, we see the people of Paris devouring the bleeding remains of marshal d'Ancre, and the people of the Hague eating the heart of the grand pensionary De Witt, we ought not to be surprised that a momentary outrage amongst us has been continual among savages.

"The most ancient books we have leave no room to doubt that hunger has driven men to this excess. The prophet Ezekiel,* according to some commentators, promises to the Hebrews, from God,† that if they de-

* Ezekiel, chap. xxxix.

† The following are the reasons of those who have maintained that, in this passage, Ezekiel addresses the Jews of his own time as well as the other carnivorous animals;—for assuredly, the Jews of the present day are not so; the Inquisition, rather, has been carnivorous towards them. They say that one part of this apostrophe regards the wild beasts, and the other is for the Jews. The first part is couched in these terms—

"Speak unto every feathered fowl, and to every beast of the field, assemble yourselves and come: gather yourselves on every side to my sacrifice that I do sacrifice for you, even a great sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel, that ye may eat flesh and drink blood.

"Ye shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth, of rams, and lambs, and of goats, of bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan."

This cannot concern any but the birds of prey and the wild beasts. But the second part appears to have been addressed to the Hebrews themselves—"Thus ye shall be filled at my table with horses and chariots, with mighty men, and with all men of war, saith the Lord. And I will set my glory among the heathen," &c.

It is quite certain that the kings of Babylon had Scythians in their armies. These Scythians drank blood out of the skulls of their enemies, and ate their horses, and sometimes human flesh. It is not improbable that the prophet alluded to this barbarous custom, and threatened the Scythians with being treated as they treated their enemies.

This conjecture is rendered still more likely by the use of the word *table*: "You shall be filled at my *table* with horses and chariots." It cannot be supposed that the speaker was ad-

send themselves well against the king of Persia, they shall eat of 'the flesh of horses and of mighty men.'

"Marco Paolo says, that in his time, in a part of Tartary, the magicians or priests (it was the same thing) had the privilege of eating the flesh of criminals condemned to death. All this is shocking to the feelings; but the picture of humanity must often have the same effect.

"How can it have been, that nations constantly separated from one another, have united in so horrible a custom? Must we believe that it is not so absolutely opposed to human nature as it appears to be? It is certain that it has been rare, but it is equally certain that it has existed. It is not known that the Tartars and the Jews often ate their fellow-creatures. During the sieges of Sancerre and Paris, in our religious wars, hunger and despair compelled mothers to feed on the flesh of their children. The charitable Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, says that this horror was committed in America, only by some nations among whom he had not travelled. Dampierre assures us that he never met with cannibals; and at this day, there are not, perhaps, any tribes which retain this horrible custom."

Americus Vespucius says, in one of his letters, that the Brazilians were much astonished, when he made them understand that for a long time the Europeans had not eaten their prisoners of war.

According to Juvenal's fifteenth satire, the Gascons and the Spaniards had been guilty of this barbarity.—He himself witnessed a similar abomination in Egypt,

dressing the animals, and talked to them about sitting at table. This would be the only passage in Scripture containing so astonishing a figure. Common sense teaches us that an acceptance cannot be given to a word which has never been given to it in any book. This is a very powerful reason in justification of the writers who have thought that verses 17 and 18 were addressed to the animals, and verses 19 and 20 to the Jews. Besides, these words—"I will set my glory among the heathen," can be addressed to none but the Jews, and not to the birds. This appears decisive. We give no judgment in this dispute; but we remark with grief that there have never been more horrible atrocities upon earth than those committed in Syria during twelve hundred almost successive years.

during the consulate of Junius. A quarrel happening between the inhabitants of Tentyra and those of Ombi, they fought; and an Ombian having fallen into the hands of the Tentyrians, they had him cooked, and ate him, all but the bare bones. But he does not say that this was a received custom; on the contrary, he speaks of it as an act of more than ordinary fury.

The jesuit Charlevoix, whom I knew very well, and who was a man of great veracity, gives us clearly to understand, in his History of Canada, in which country he resided thirty years, that all the nations of northern America were cannibals; since he remarks, as a thing very extraordinary, that in 1711 the Acadians did not eat men.

The jesuit Brebeuf relates, that in 1640, the first Iroquois that was converted, having unfortunately got drunk with brandy, was taken by the Hurons, then at war with the Iroquois. The prisoner, baptised by father Brebeuf by the name of Joseph, was condemned to death. He was put to a thousand tortures, which he endured, singing all the while, according to the custom of his country. They finished by cutting off a foot, a hand, and lastly his head; after which the Hurons put all the members into a cauldron, each one partook of them, and a piece was offered to father Brebeuf.*

Charlevoix speaks in another place of twenty-two Hurons eaten by the Iroquois. It cannot then be doubted, that in more countries than one, human nature has reached this last pitch of horror: and this execrable custom must be of the highest antiquity; for we see in the Holy Scriptures, that the Jews were threatened with eating their children if they did not obey their laws. The Jews are told, not only that they shall have the itch, and that their wives shall give themselves up to others, but also that they shall eat their sons and daughters in anguish and devastation; that they shall contend with one another for the eating

* See Brebeuf's letter; and Charlevoix's History, tom. i. page 317 and following.

of their children; and that the husband will not give to his wife a morsel of her son, because, he will say, he has hardly enough for himself.*

Some very bold critics do indeed assert, that the book of Deuteronomy was not composed until after the siege of Samaria by Benhadad, during which, it is said, in the second book of Kings, that mothers ate their children. But these critics, in considering Deuteronomy as a book written after the siege of Samaria, do but verify this terrible occurrence. Others assert that it could not happen as is related in the second book of Kings. It is there said—"And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall [of Samaria] there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king. And he said, if the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barn-floor? or out of the wine-press? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we shall eat my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him; and she hath hid her son."†

These censors assert that it is not likely, that while king Benhadad was besieging Samaria, king Joram passed quietly by the wall, or upon the wall, to settle differences between Samaritan women. It is still less likely that one child should not have satisfied two women for two days. There must have been enough to feed them for four days at least. But let these critics reason as they may, we must believe that fathers and mothers ate their children during the siege of Samaria, since it is expressly foretold in Deuteronomy.

The same thing happened at the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar;‡ and this, too, was foretold by Ezekiel.§

* Deuteronomy, chap. xviii. v. 53, &c.

† Chap. vi. v. 26, and following.

‡ Second book of Kings, chap. xxv. v. 7.

§ Chap. v. verse 10.

Jeremiah exclaims, in his Lamentations—" Shall the women eat their fruit, and children of a span long?"* And in another place—" The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children.† Here may be added the words of Baruch—" Man has eaten the flesh of his son and of his daughter."

This horror is repeated so often, that it cannot but be true. Lastly, we know the story related in Josephus,‡ of the woman who fed on the flesh of her son when Titus was besieging Jerusalem.

The book attributed to Enoch, cited by St. Jude, says, that the giants born from the commerce of the angels with the daughters of men, were the first cannibals.

In the eighth homily attributed to St. Clement, St. Peter, who is made to speak in it, says that these same giants quenched their thirst with human blood, and ate the flesh of their fellow-creatures. Hence resulted, adds the author, maladies until then unknown; monsters of all kinds sprung up on the earth; and then it was that God resolved to drown all human kind. All this shows us how universal was the reigning opinion of the existence of cannibals.

What St. Peter is made to say in St. Clement's homily, has a palpable affinity with the story of Lycaon, one of the oldest of Greek fables, and which we find in the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

The *Relations of the Indies and China*, written in the eighth century by two Arabs, and translated by the abbé Renaudot, is not a book to which implicit credit should be attached;—far from it; but we must not reject all these two travellers say, especially when their testimony is corroborated by that of other authors, who have merited some belief. They tell us, that there are in the Indian sea, islands peopled with blacks who ate men; they call these islands *Ramni*.

Marco Paolo, who had not read the relation of these two Arabs, says the same thing four hundred years

* Second book of Kings, chap. ii. v. 20.

† Ibid, chap. iv, v. 10.

‡ Book viii. chap. 8.

after them. Archbishop Navarette, who was afterwards a voyager in the same seas, confirms this account—" *Los Europeos que cogen, es constante que vivos se los van comiendo.*"

Texeira asserts, that the people of Java ate human flesh, which abominable custom they had not left off more than two hundred years before his time. He adds, that they did not learn milder manners until they embraced Mahometanism.

The same thing has been said of the people of Pegu, of the Caffres, and of several other African nations. Marco Paolo, whom we have just now cited, says, that in some Tartar hordes, when a criminal had been condemned to death, they made a meal of him—" *Hanno costoro un bestiale e orribile costume, che quando alcuno e guidicato a morte, lo tolgono, e cuocono, e mangian' selo.*"

What is more extraordinary and incredible is, that the two Arabs attribute to the Chinese what Marco Paolo says of some of the Tartars—that "in general, the Chinese eat all who have been killed." This abomination is so repugnant to Chinese manners, that it cannot be believed. Father Parennin has refuted it, by saying that it is unworthy of refutation.

It must, however, be observed, that the eighth century, the time when these Arabs wrote their travels, was one of those most disastrous to the Chinese. Two hundred thousand Tartars passed the great wall, plundered Pekin, and everywhere spread the most horrible desolation. It is very likely that there was then a great famine, for China was as populous as it is now; and some poor creatures among the lowest of the people might eat dead bodies. What interest could these Arabians have in inventing so disgusting a fable? Perhaps they, like most other travellers, took a particular instance for a national custom.

Not to go so far for examples, we have one in our own country, in the very province in which I write: it is attested by our conqueror, our master, Julius

Cæsar.* He was besieging Alexia, in the Auxois. The besieged, being resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, and wanting provisions, a great council was assembled, in which one of the chiefs, named Critognatus, proposed that the children should be eaten one after another, to sustain the strength of the combatants. His proposal was carried by a majority of voices. Nor is this all: Critognatus, in his harangue, tells them that their ancestors had had recourse to the same kind of sustenance, in the war with the Cimbri and Teutones.

We will conclude with the testimony of Montagne. Speaking of what was told him by the companions of Villegagnon, returned from Brazil, and of what he had seen in France, he certifies that the Brazilians ate their enemies killed in war; but mark what follows—"Is it more barbarous to eat a man when dead than to have him roasted by a slow fire, or torn to pieces by dogs and swine, as is yet fresh in our memories,—and that not between ancient enemies, but among neighbours and fellow-citizens,—and, which is worse, on pretence of piety and religion?" What a question, for a philosopher like Montagne! Then, if Anacreon and Tibullus had been Iroquois, they would have eaten men! Alas! alas!

SECTION III.

Well; two Englishmen have sailed round the world. They have discovered that New Holland is an island larger than Europe, and that men still eat one another there, as in New Zealand. Whence come this race? supposing that they exist. Are they descended from the ancient Egyptians, from the ancient people of Ethiopia, from the Africans, from the Indians?—or from the vultures, or the wolves? What a contrast, between Marcus Aurelius or Epictetus and the cannibals of New Zealand! Yet they have the same organs, they are alike human beings. We have already treated

* Bell. Gall. lib. vii.

on this property of the human race; it may not be amiss to add another paragraph.

The following are St. Jerome's own words in one of his letters—“ Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, quùm ipse adolescentulus in Gallià viderim Scotos, gentem Britannnicam, humanis vesci carnibus, et quùm per silvas porcorum greges pecudumque reperiant, tamen pastorum nates et fæminarum papillas solere abscindere et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari?—What shall I say of other nations? when I myself, when young, have seen Scotchmen in Gaul, who, though they might have fed on swine and other animals in the forests, chose rather to cut off the posteriors of the youths and the breasts of the young women, and considered them as the most delicious food.”*

Pelloutier, who sought for everything that might do honour to the Celts, took the pains to contradict Jerome, and to maintain that his credulity had been imposed on. But Jerome speaks very gravely, and of what he *saw*. We may, with reverence, dispute with a father of the church about what he has heard; but to doubt of what he has *seen*, is going very far. After all, the safest way is to doubt of everything, even of what we have seen ourselves.

One word more on cannibalism. In a book which has had considerable success among the well-disposed, we find the following, or words to the same effect—

“ In Cromwell's time, a woman who kept a tallow-chandler's shop in Dublin, sold excellent candles, made of the fat of Englishmen. After some time, one of her customers complained that the candles were not so good. ‘ Sir,’ said the woman, ‘ it is because we are short of Englishmen.’ ”

I ask which were the most guilty—those who assassinated the English, or the poor woman who made

* It is reasonable to presume that the Sawney Bean of a later day was a lineal descendant from the aboriginal tribe, so choice a feeding portion of which was seen by St. Jerome. The aversion to pork is not quite eradicated in Scotland at this day; but a taste for the other fare, it is to be presumed, no longer exists; at least, nothing is mentioned of these dishes in the *Nectes Ambrosiana*.—T.

candles of their fat? And further, I ask, which was the greatest crime—to have Englishmen cooked for dinner, or to use their tallow to give light at supper? It appears to me that the great evil is, the being killed; it matters little to us whether, after death, we are roasted on the spit, or are made into candles. Indeed, no well-disposed man can be unwilling to be useful when he is dead.

CASTING (IN METAL).

THERE is not an ancient fable, not an old absurdity, which some simpleton will not revive, and that in a magisterial tone, if it be but authorised by some classical or theological writer.

Lycophron (if I remember right) relates that a horde of robbers, who had been justly condemned in Ethiopia, by king Actisanes, to lose their ears and noses, fled to the cataracts of the Nile, and from thence penetrated into the Sandy Desart, where they at length built the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

Lycophron, and after him Theopompus, tells us that these banditti, reduced to extreme want, having neither shoes, nor clothes, nor utensils, nor bread, be-thought themselves of raising a statue of gold to an Egyptian god. This statue was ordered one evening, and made in the course of the night. A member of the university, much attached to Lycophron and the Ethiopian robbers, asserts that nothing was more common, in the venerable ages of antiquity, than to cast a statue of gold in one night, and afterwards throw it into a fire, to reduce it to an impalpable powder, in order to be swallowed by a whole people.

But where did these poor devils, without breeches, find so much gold? "What! sir," says the man of learning, "do you forget that they had stolen enough to buy all Africa, and that their daughters' ear-rings alone were worth nine millions five hundred thousand livres of our currency?"

Be it so. But for casting a statue, a little prepara-

tion is necessary. M. Le Moine employed nearly two years in casting that of Louis XV.

" Oh! but this Jupiter Ammon was at most but three feet high. Go to any pewterer; will he not make you half-a-dozen plates in a day?"

Sir, a statue of Jupiter is harder to make than pewter-plates; and I even doubt whether your thieves had wherewith to make plates so quickly, clever as they might be at pilfering. It is not very likely that they had the necessary apparatus; they had more need to provide themselves with meal. I respect Lycophron much; but this profound Greek, and his yet more profound commentators, know so little of the arts—they are so learned in all that is useless, and so ignorant in all that concerns the necessities and conveniences of life, professions, trades, and daily occupations—that we will take this opportunity of informing them how a metal figure is cast. This is an operation which they will find neither in Lycophron, nor in Manetho, nor even in St. Thomas's Dream.*

I omit many other preparations which the Encyclopedists, especially M. Diderot, have explained much better than I could do, in the work which must immortalize their glory as well as all the arts. But to form a clear idea of the process of this art, the artist must be seen at work. No one can ever learn in a book to weave stockings, nor to polish diamonds, nor to work tapestry. Arts and trades are learned only by example and practice.

CATO.

ON SUICIDE, AND THE ABBE DE ST. CYRAN'S BOOK
LEGITIMATING SUICIDE.

THE ingenious La Motte says of Cato, in one of his philosophical rather than poetical odes—

* Here follows, in the original, an account of the manner of casting statues in France, in Voltaire's time, which, for obvious reasons, is omitted. Enough is retained to exhibit the folly and absurdity of an obstinate determination to adore all that was done, and believe all that was said, by *the ancients*.—T.

Physical organization, of which moral is the offspring, transmits the same character from father to son, through a succession of ages. The Appii were always haughty and inflexible, the Catos always severe. The whole line of the Guises were bold, rash, factious; compounded of the most insolent pride, and the most seductive politeness. From Francis de Guise, to him who alone and in silence went and put himself at the head of the people of Naples, they were all, in figure, in courage, and in turn of mind, above ordinary men. I have seen whole-length portraits of Francis de Guise, of the Balafre, and of his son: they are all six feet high, with the same features, the same courage and boldness in the forehead, the eye, and the attitude.

This continuity, this series of beings alike, is still more observable in animals; and if as much care were taken to perpetuate fine races of men, as some nations still take to prevent the mixing of the breeds of their horses and hounds, the genealogy would be written in the countenance and displayed in the manners.

There have been races of crooked and of six-fingered people, as we see red-haired, thick-lipped, long-nosed, and flat-nosed races.

But that nature should so dispose the organs of a whole race, that at a certain age each individual of that family will have a passion for self-destruction—this is a problem which all the sagacity of the most attentive anatomists cannot resolve. The effect is certainly all physical; but it belongs to occult physics. Indeed, what principle is not *occult*?

We are not informed, nor is it likely, that in the time of Cæsar and the emperors the inhabitants of Great Britain killed themselves as deliberately as they now do, when they have the vapours, which they denominate *the spleen*.

On the other hand, the Romans, who never had the spleen, did not hesitate to put themselves to death.

doubtful, whether the impressions produced by lengthened and reiterated details of sanguinary murders, like that of Weare, be not frequently injurious. Some physiological reasoners, indeed, assert that they often lead to imitation.—T.

They reasoned: they were philosophers; and the people of the island of Britain were not so. Now, English citizens are philosophers, and Roman citizens are nothing. The Englishman quits this life proudly and disdainfully, when the whim takes him: but the Roman must have an *indulgentia in articulo mortis*; he can neither live nor die.

Sir William Temple says, that a man should depart when he has no longer any pleasure in remaining. So died Atticus.

Young women, who hang and drown themselves for love, should then listen to the voice of hope; for changes are as frequent in love as in other affairs.

An almost infallible means of saving yourself from the desire of self-destruction is, always to have something to do. Creech, the commentator on Lucretius, marked upon his manuscript—"N.B. Must hang myself when I have finished." He kept his word with himself, that he might have the pleasure of ending like his author. If he had undertaken a commentary upon Ovid, he would have lived longer.

Why have we fewer suicides in the country than in the towns? Because in the fields only the body suffers; in the town, it is the mind. The labourer has not time to be melancholy; none kill themselves but the idle—they who, in the eyes of the multitude, are so happy.

I shall here relate some suicides that have happened in my own time, several of which have already been published in other works. The dead may be made useful to the living.

A brief Account of some singular Suicides.

Philip Mordaunt, cousin-german to the celebrated earl of Peterborough,—so well known in all the European courts, and who boasted of having seen more postillions and kings than any other man—Philip Mordaunt was a young man of twenty-seven, handsome, well made, rich, of noble blood, with the highest pretensions, and, which was more than all, adored by his mistress: yet Mordaunt was seized with a disgust

for life. He payed his debts, wrote to his friends, and even made some verses on the occasion. He dispatched himself with a pistol, without having given any other reason than that his soul was tired of his body, and that when we are dissatisfied with our abode, we ought to quit it. It seems that he wished to die, because he was disgusted with his good fortune.

In 1726, Richard Smith exhibited a strange spectacle to the world, from a very different cause. Richard Smith was disgusted with real misfortune. He had been rich, and he was poor; he had been in health, and he was infirm; he had a wife, with whom he had nought but his misery to share; their only remaining property was a child in the cradle. Richard Smith and Bridget Smith, with common consent, having embraced each other tenderly, and given their infant the last kiss, began with killing the poor child, after which they hung themselves to the posts of their bed.

I do not know any other act of cold-blooded horror so striking as this. But the letter which these unfortunate persons wrote to their cousin, Mr. Brindley, before their death, is as singular as their death itself. "We believe," say they, "that God will forgive us. . . . We quit this life because we are miserable, without resource; and we have done our only son the service of killing him, lest he should become as unfortunate as ourselves." It must be observed, that these people, after killing their son through parental tenderness, wrote to recommend their dog and cat to the care of a friend. It seems they thought it easier to make a cat and dog happy in this life than a child, and they would not be a burden to their friends.

Lord Scarborough quitted this life in 1727, with the same coolness as he had quitted his office of master of the horse. He was reproached, in the House of Peers, with taking the king's part, because he had a good place at court. "My lords," said he, "to prove to you that my opinion is independent of my place, I resign it this moment." He afterwards found himself in a perplexing dilemma between a mistress whom he loved, but to whom he had promised nothing, and a woman

whom he esteemed, and to whom he had promised marriage. He killed himself, to escape from his embarrassment.

These tragical stories, which swarm in the English newspapers, have made the rest of Europe think that, in England, men kill themselves more willingly than elsewhere. However, I know not but there are as many madmen or heroes to be found in Paris as in London. Perhaps, if our newspapers kept an exact list of all who had been so infatuated as to seek their own destruction, and so lamentably courageous as to effect it, we should, in this particular, have the misfortune to rival the English. But our journals are more discreet. In such of them as are acknowledged by the government, private occurrences are never exposed to public slander.*

All I can venture to say with assurance is, that there is no reason to apprehend that this rage for self-murder will ever become an epidemical disorder. Against this nature has too well provided. Hope and fear are the powerful agents which she very often employs to stay the hand of the unhappy individual about to strike at his own breast.

Cardinal Dubois was once heard to say to himself—
“Kill thyself! Coward, thou darest not!”

It is said, that there have been countries in which a council was established, to grant the citizens permission to kill themselves, when they had good and sufficient reasons. I answer, either that it was not so, or that those magistrates had not much to do.

It might indeed astonish us, and does, I think, merit a serious examination, that the ancient Roman heroes almost all killed themselves when they had lost a battle in the civil wars. But I do not find, neither in the time of the League, nor in that of the Fronde, nor in the troubles of Italy, nor in those of England, that any chief thought proper to die by his own

* This observation affords a singular proof of the penetrating sagacity of Voltaire; it having been recently ascertained, beyond denial, that the suicides of Paris outnumber those of London.—T.

hand. These chiefs, it is true, were Christians, and there is a great difference between the principles of a christian warrior and those of a pagan hero. But why were these men, whom christianity restrained when they would have put themselves to death, restrained by nothing when they chose to poison, assassinate, and bring their conquered enemies to the scaffold? Does not the Christian religion forbid these murders much more than self-murder, of which the New Testament makes no mention?

The apostles of suicide tell us, that it is quite allowable to quit one's house when one is tired of it. Agreed: but most men would prefer sleeping in a mean house to lying in the open air.

I once received a circular letter from an Englishman, in which he offered a prize to any one who should most satisfactorily prove, that there are occasions on which a man might kill himself. I made no answer: I had nothing to prove to him. He had only to examine whether he liked better to die than to live.

Another Englishman came to me at Paris, in 1724: he was ill, and promised me that he would kill himself if he was not cured by the 20th of July. He accordingly gave me his epitaph, in these words—"Valete cura!" "Farewell care!"—and gave me twenty-five louis to get a small monument erected to him at the end of the faubourg St. Martin. I returned him his money on the 20th of July, and kept his epitaph.

In my own time, the last prince of the house of Courtenai, when very old, and the last of the branch of Lorraine-Harcourt, when very young, destroyed themselves, almost without its being heard of. These occurrences cause a terrible uproar the first day; but when the property of the deceased has been divided, they are no longer talked of.

The following most remarkable of all suicides has just occurred at Lyons, in June, 1770:—

A young man well known, who was handsome, well made, clever, and amiable, fell in love with a young woman whom her parents would not give to him. So far, we have nothing more than the opening

scene of a comedy: the astonishing tragedy is to follow.

The lover broke a blood-vessel, and the surgeons informed him there was no remedy. His mistress engaged to meet him, with two pistols and two daggers, in order that, if the pistols missed, the daggers might the next moment pierce their hearts. They embraced each other for the last time: rose-coloured ribbons were tied to the triggers of the pistols; the lover holding the ribbon of his mistress's pistol, while she held the ribbon of his. Both fired at a signal given, and both fell at the same instant.

Of this fact the whole city of Lyons is witness. Pætus and Arria, you set the example; but you were condemned by a tyrant, while love alone immolated these two victims.

Laws against Suicide.

Has any law, civil or religious, ever forbidden a man to kill himself, on pain of being hanged after death, or on pain of being damned?

It is true that Virgil has said—

Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi lethum
Insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
Projecere animas. Quàm vellent æthere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
Fata obstant, tristisque palus inamabilis undâ
Alligat, et novies Styx interfusa coercet.

ÆNEIS, lib. vi. v. 434 et seq.

The next in place, and punishment, are they
Who prodigally throw their souls away—
Fools, who, repining at their wretched state,
And loathing anxious life, suborn their fate:
With late repentance now they would retrieve
The bodies they forsook, and wish to live;
Their pains and poverty desire to bear,
To view the light of heav'n and breathe the vital air;—
But Fate forbids, the Stygian floods oppose,
And, with nine circling streams, the captive souls inlose.

DRYDEN.

Such was the religion of some of the pagans; yet, notwithstanding the weariness which awaited them in the next world, it was an honour to quit this by killing themselves;—so contradictory are the ways of men.

And amongst us, is not duelling unfortunately still honourable, though forbidden by reason, by religion, and by every law? If Cato and Cæsar, Anthony and Augustus, were not duellists, it was not that they were less brave than our Frenchmen. If the duke of Montmorency, marshal de Marillac, De Thou, Cinq-Mars, and so many others, chose rather to be dragged to execution in a waggon, like highwaymen, than to kill themselves like Cato and Brutus, it was not that they had less courage than those Romans, nor less of what is called *honour*. The true reason is, that at Paris self-murder in such cases was not then the fashion: but it was the fashion at Rome.

The women of the Malabar coast throw themselves, living, on the funeral-piles of their husbands. Have they, then, more courage than Cornelia? No; but in that country it is the custom for the wives to burn themselves.

In Japan, it is the custom for a man of honour, when he has been insulted by another man of honour, to rip open his belly in the presence of his enemy, and say to him—"Do thou likewise, if thou hast the heart." The aggressor is dishonoured for ever, if he does not immediately plunge a great knife into his belly.

The only religion in which suicide is forbidden by a clear and positive law, is Mahometanism. In the fourth sura it is said—"Do not kill yourself, for God is merciful unto you; and whosoever killeth himself through malice and wickedness, shall assuredly be burned in hell-fire."

This is a literal translation. The text, like many other texts, appears to want common sense. What is meant by "Do not kill yourself, for God is merciful"? Perhaps we are to understand—Do not sink under your misfortunes, which God may alleviate: do not be so foolish as to kill yourself to-day, since you may be happy to-morrow.

"And whosoever killeth himself through malice and wickedness."—This is yet more difficult to explain. Perhaps, in all antiquity, this never happened to any one but the Phædra of Euripides, who hanged herself

on purpose to make Theseus believe that she had been forcibly violated by Hippolytus. In our own times, a man shot himself in the head, after arranging all things to make another man suspected of the act.

In the play of George Dandin, his jade of a wife threatens him with killing herself to have him hanged. Such cases are rare. If Mahomet foresaw them, he may be said to have seen a great way.

The famous Duverger de Haurane, abbot of St. Cyran, regarded as the founder of Port Royal, wrote, about the year 1608, a treatise on suicide, which has become one of the scarcest books in Europe.

"The Decalogue," says he, "forbids us to kill. In this precept, self-murder seems no less to be comprised than murder of our neighbour. But if there are cases in which it is allowable to kill our neighbour, there likewise are cases in which it is allowable to kill ourselves.

"We must not make an attempt upon our lives until we have consulted reason. The public authority, which holds the place of God, may dispose of our lives. The reason of man may likewise hold the place of the reason of God: it is a ray of the eternal light."

St. Cyran extends this argument, which may be considered as a mere sophism, to great length; but when he comes to the explanation and the details, it is more difficult to answer him. He says—"A man may kill himself for the good of his prince, for that of his country, or for that of his relations.

We do not, indeed, see how Codrus or Curtius could be condemned. No sovereign would dare to punish the family of a man who had devoted himself to death for him: nay, there is not one who would dare neglect to recompense it. St. Thomas, before St. Cyran, had said the same thing. But we need neither St. Thomas, nor cardinal Bonaventure, nor Duverger de Haurane, to tell us that a man who dies for his country is deserving of praise.

The abbot of St. Cyran concludes, that it is allowable to do for ourselves what it is noble to do for others. All that is advanced by Plutarch, by Seneca,

by Montagne, and by fifty other philosophers, in favour of suicide, is sufficiently known: it is a hacknied topic—a worn-out common-place. I seek not to apologise for an act which the laws condemn; but neither the Old Testament, nor the New, has ever forbidden man to depart this life when it has become insupportable to him. No Roman law condemned self-murder: on the contrary, the following was the law of the emperor Antonine, which was never revoked:—

“ If your father or your brother, not being accused of any crime, kill himself, either to escape from grief, or through weariness of life, or through despair, or through mental derangement, his will shall be valid; or, if he die intestate, his heirs shall succeed.”*

Notwithstanding this humane law of our masters, we still drag on a sledge, and drive a stake through the body of a man who has died a voluntary death: we do all we can to make his memory infamous; we dishonour his family as far as we are able; we punish the son for having lost his father, and the widow for being deprived of her husband.†

We even confiscate the property of the deceased; which is robbing the living of the patrimony which of right belongs to them. This custom is derived from our canon law, which deprives of Christian burial such as die a voluntary death. Hence it is concluded, that we cannot inherit from a man who is judged to have no inheritance in heaven. The canon law, under the head “*De Pœnitentiâ*,” assures us, that Judas committed a greater crime in strangling himself than in selling our Lord Jesus Christ.

CELTS.

AMONG those who have had the leisure, the means, and the courage, to seek for the origin of nations, there have been some who have found that of our Celts,

* *De bonis eorum qui sibi mortem. . . . Leg. 3. ff. cod.*

† The year 1823 deserves to be marked in the annals of England, as that in which these odious violations of common decency and common feeling were done away—it is to be hoped for ever.—T.

or at least would make us believe that they had met with it. This illusion being the only recompense of their immense travail, we should not envy them its possession.

If we wish to know any thing about the Huns (who, indeed, are scarcely worth knowing any thing about, for they have rendered no service to mankind), we find some slight notices of those barbarians among the Chinese—that most ancient of all nations, after the Indians. From them we learn that, in certain ages, the Huns went, like famishing wolves, and ravaged countries which, even at this day, are regarded as places of exile and of horror. This is a very melancholy, a very miserable sort of knowledge. It is, doubtless, much better to cultivate a useful art at Paris, Lyons, or Bourdeaux, than seriously to study the history of the Huns and the bears. Nevertheless, we are aided in these researches by some of the Chinese archives.

But for the Celts, there are no archives. We know no more of their antiquities than we do of those of the Samoyeds or the Australasians.

We have learned nothing about our ancestors, except from the few words which their conqueror, Julius Cæsar, condescended to say of them. He begins his Commentaries by distinguishing the Gauls into the Belgians, Aquitanians, and Celts.

Whence some of the daring among the erudite have concluded, that the Celts were the Scythians; and they have made these Scythio-Celts include all Europe. But why not include the whole earth? Why stop short in so fine a career?

We have also been duly told that Noah's son, Japhet, came out of the Ark, and went with all speed to people all those vast regions with Celts, whom he governed marvellously well. But authors of greater modesty refer the origin of our Celts to the tower of Babel—to the confusion of tongues—to Gomer, of whom no one ever heard, until the very recent period when some wise men of the west read the name of Gomer in a bad translation of the Septuagint.

Bochart, in his *Sacred Chronology* (what a chronology!) takes quite a different turn. Of these innumerable hordes of Celts he makes an Egyptian colony, skilfully and easily led by Hercules from the fertile banks of the Nile into the forests and morasses of Germany, whither, no doubt, these colonists carried the arts and the language of Egypt, and the mysteries of Isis, no trace of which has ever been found among them.

I think they are still more to be congratulated on their discoveries, who say that the Celts of the mountains of Dauphiny were called Cottians from their king Cottius; that the Bérichons were named from their king Betrich; the Welsh, or Gaulish, from their king Wallus; and the Belgians from Balgem, which means quarrelsome.

A still finer origin is that of the Celto-Pannonians, from the Latin word *pannus*, cloth, for, we are told, they dressed themselves in old pieces of cloth badly sewn together, much resembling a harlequin's jacket. But the best origin of all is, undeniably, the tower of Babel.

CEREMONIES—TITLES—PRECEDENCE.

ALL these things, which would be very useless and very impertinent, in a state of pure nature, are, in our corrupt and ridiculous state, of great service.

Of all nations, the Chinese are those who have carried the use of ceremonies to the greatest length; they certainly serve to calm as well as to weary the mind. The Chinese porters and carters are obliged, whenever they occasion the least hindrance in the streets, to fall on their knees and ask one another's pardon according to the prescribed formula. This prevents ill language, blows, and murders. They have time to grow cool, and are then willing to assist one another.

The more free a people are, the fewer ceremonies, the fewer ostentatious titles, the fewer demonstrations of annihilation in the presence of a superior, they possess. To Scipio, men said "Scipio;" to Cæsar,

“Cæsar;” but in after times they said to the emperors, “your majesty,” “your divinity.”

The titles of St. Peter and St. Paul, were “Peter” and “Paul.” Their successors gave one another the title of “your holiness,” which is not to be found in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in the writings of the disciples.

We read in the history of Germany, that the dauphin of France, afterwards Charles V. went to the emperor Charles IV. at Metz, and was presented after cardinal De Périgord.

There has since been a time when chancellors went before cardinals; after which, cardinals again took precedence of chancellors.

In France, the peers preceded the princes of the blood, going in the order of their creation, until the consecration of Henry III.

The dignity of peer was, until that time, so exalted, that at the ceremony of the consecration of Elizabeth, wife to Charles IX. in 1572, described by Simon Bouquet, *echevain* of Paris, it is said that the queen’s *dames* and *demoiselles* having handed to the *dame d’honneur* the bread, wine, and wax, with the silver, for the offering to be presented to the queen by the said *dame d’honneur*, the said *dame d’honneur*, being a duchess, commanded the *dames* to go and carry the offering to the princesses themselves,” &c. This *dame d’honneur* was the wife of the constable Montmorency.

The arm-chair, the chair with a back, the stool, the right hand, and the left, were for several ages important political matters. I believe that we owe the ancient etiquette concerning arm-chairs to the circumstance that our barbarians of ancestors had at most but one in a house, and even this was used only by the sick. In some provinces of Germany and England, an arm-chair is still called a sick-chair.

Long after the times of Attila and Dagobert, when luxury found its way into our courts, and the great men of the earth had two or three arm-chairs in their donjons, it was a noble distinction to sit upon one of these thrones; and a castellan would place among

his titles, *how* he had gone half a league from home to pay his court to a count, and *how* he had been received in an easy-chair.

We see in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle, that that august princess passed one-fourth of her life amid the mortal agonies of disputes for the back-chair. Were you to sit, in a certain apartment, in a chair, or on a stool, or not to sit at all? Here was enough to involve a whole court in intrigue. Manners are now more easy; ladies may use couches and sofas without occasioning any disturbance in society.

When cardinal De Richelieu was treating with the English ambassadors for the marriage of Henriette of France with Charles I. the affair was on the point of being broken off on account of a demand made by the ambassadors of two or three steps more towards a door: but the cardinal removed the difficulty by taking to his bed. History has carefully handed down this precious circumstance. I believe that if it had been proposed to Scipio to get between the sheets to receive the visit of Hannibal, he would have thought the ceremony something like a joke.*

For a whole century, the order of carriages, and taking the wall, were testimonials of greatness and the source of pretensions, disputes, and conflicts. To

* The Memoirs of Anne of Austria, by Madame Motteville, abound with curious particulars of this sort of etiquette, and of its operation upon the poor Mademoiselle d'Orléans, adverted to by Voltaire. Alluding to the precedence connected with arm-chairs, stools, &c. we copy the following passage from the translation of a French work upon the rules of deportment in France, in the early part of the reign of Louis XIV. It describes the proper manner of being seated in the presence of a person of quality:—"If we be desired to sit, we must do it, but with some little demonstration of unwillingness, in regard of our respect; and be sure to place ourselves beneath him towards the lower end of the room, which is always next the door where we came in; and the upper end is, where the person of honour sits himself.

"It must not be forgot also, that when we do sit, it be upon a seat inferior to his, if it be to be had; there being great difference to be observed between a *chair with arms*, a *back-chair*, and a *joyn't-stool*; the first being the most honourable, the second the next, and the stool the lowest of the three."—T.

procure the passing of one carriage before another was looked upon as a signal victory. The ambassadors went along the streets as if they were contending for the prize in the circus; and when a Spanish minister had succeeded in making a Portuguese coachman pull up, he sent a courier to Madrid to apprise the king his master of this great advantage.

Our histories regale us with fifty pugilistic combats for precedence—as that of the parliament with the bishops' clerks, at the funeral of Henry IV.—the *chambre des comptes* with the parliament, in the cathedral, when Louis XIII. gave France to the Virgin,—the duke of Epemon with the keeper of the seals, Du Vair, in the church of St. Germain. The presidents of the *enquêtes* buffeted Savare, the *doyen* of the *conseillers de grand' chambre*, to make him quit his place of honour (so much is honour the soul of monarchical governments!) and four archers were obliged to lay hold of the president Barillon, who was beating the poor *doyen* without mercy. We find no contests like these in the Areopagus, nor in the Roman senate.

In proportion to the barbarism of countries or the weakness of courts, we find ceremony in vogue. True power and true politeness are above vanity.

We may venture to believe that the custom will at last be given up which some ambassadors still retain, of ruining themselves in order to go along the streets in procession with a few hired carriages, fresh painted and gilt, and preceded by a few footmen. This is called "making their entry;" and it is a fine joke, to make your entry into a town seven or eight months before you arrive.

This important affair of punctilio, which constitutes the greatness of the modern Romans,—this science of the number of steps that should be made in showing in a *monsieur*, in drawing or half-drawing a curtain, in walking in a room to the right or to the left,*—this great

* It was a circumstance of this nature that occasioned the quarrel between cardinal Bouillon and the famous princess of Urino, his intimate friend; and the hatred of that woman, who

art, which not Fabius nor Cato could ever imagine, is beginning to sink : and the train-bearers to the cardinals complain that everything indicates a decline.

A French colonel, being at Brussels a year after the taking of that place by marshal de Saxe, and having nothing to do, resolved to go to the town assembly. "It is held at a princess's," said one to him. "Be it so," answered the other, "what matters it to me?" "But only princes go there; are you a prince?" "Pshaw!" said the colonel, "they are a very good sort of princes; I had a dozen of them in my anti-room last year, when we had taken the town, and they were very polite."*

In turning over the leaves of Horace, I observe this line in an epistle to Mécœnas—"Te, dulcis amice revisam"—"I will come and see you, my good friend." This Mécœnas was the second person in the Roman empire, that is, a man of greater power and influence than the greatest monarch of modern Europe.

Looking into the works of Corneille, I observed that in a letter to the great Scuderi, governor of Nôtre-Dame de la Garde, &c. he uses this expression in reference to cardinal Richelieu: "Monsieur the cardinal, your master and mine." It is perhaps the first time that such language has been applied to a minister, since there have been ministers, kings, and flatterers in the world. The same Peter Corneille, the author of *Cinna*, humbly dedicates that work to the *Sieur de Montauron* the king's treasurer, whom, in direct terms, he compares to Augustus. I regret that he did not give Montauron the title of *monseigneur*, or my lord.

An anecdote is related of an old officer, but little conversant with the precedents and formulas of vanity, who wrote to the *marquis Louvois* as plain *monsieur*,

was as vain as himself, but more skilful in intrigue, was one of the chief causes of his ruin.

* Napoleon carried this carelessness of princely pretension much farther, and that too with princes of a much higher grade than those encountered by the French colonel at Brussels. Nothing appears more puny and contemptible than artificial distinctions when strongly contrasted with commanding intellect and irresistible power.—T.

but receiving no answer, next addressed him under the title of monseigneur, still however without effect, the unluckily monsieur continuing to rankle in the minister's heart. He finally directed his letter, "to my God, my God Louvois;" commencing it by the words, "my God, my Creator."* Does not all this sufficiently prove that the Romans were magnanimous and modest, and that we are frivolous and vain?

How d'y'e do, my dear friend? said a duke and peer to a gentleman. At your service, my dear friend, replied he; and from that instant his "dear friend" became his implacable enemy. A grandee of Portugal was once conversing with a Spanish hidalgo, and addressed him every moment in the terms, "your excellency." The Castilian as frequently replied "your courtesy," (*vuestra merced*) a title bestowed on those who have none by right. The irritated Portuguese, in turn, retorted "your courtesy" on the Spaniard, who then called the Portuguese, "your excellency." The Portuguese, at length wearied out, demanded, "How is it that you always call me your courtesy, when I call you your excellency, and your excellency when I call you your courtesy?" "The reason is," says the Castilian with a bow, "that all titles are equal to me, provided that there is nothing equal between you and me."

The vanity of titles was not introduced into our northern climes of Europe, till the Romans had become acquainted with Asiatic magnificence. The greater part of the sovereigns of Asia were, and still are, cousins german of the sun and the moon; their subjects dare not make any pretension to such high affinity; and many a provincial governor, who stiles himself "nutmeg of consolation," and "rose of delight," would be impaled alive, if he were to claim the slightest relationship to the sun and moon.

Constantine was, I think, the first Roman emperor

* The monseigneur of ministers is nearly fallen into disuse, since the places of secretaries of state have been filled by the nobility, who would consider themselves disparaged by being simply monseigneurs, since they had become ministers.

who overwhelmed christian humility in a page of pompous titles. It is true that, before his time, the emperors bore the title of God, but the term implied nothing similar to what we understand by it. *Divus Augustus*, *Divus Trajanus*, meant St. Augustus, St. Trajan. It was thought only conformable to the dignity of the Roman empire, that the soul of its chief should, after his death, ascend to heaven; and it frequently even happened that the title of Saint, of God was granted to the emperor by a sort of anticipated inheritance. Nearly for the same reason, the first patriarchs of the christian church were all called "your holiness." They were thus named, to remind them of what in fact they ought to be.

Men sometimes take upon themselves very humble titles, provided they can obtain from others very honourable ones. Many an abbé who calls himself brother, exacts from his monks the title of monseigneur. The pope styles himself "servant of the servants of God." An honest priest of Holstein once addressed a letter—"to Pius IV. servant of the servants of God." He afterwards went to Rome, to urge his suit, and the inquisition put him in prison to teach him how to address letters.

Formerly, the emperor alone had the title of majesty. Other sovereigns were called your highness, your serenity, your grace. Louis XI. was the first in France who was generally called majesty; a title certainly not less suitable to the dignity of a powerful hereditary kingdom than to an elective principality. But long after him the term highness was applied to kings of France; and some letters to Henry III. are still extant, in which he is addressed by that title. The states of Orleans objected to queen Catherine de Medicis being called majesty. But this last denomination gradually prevailed. The name is indifferent, it is the power alone that is not so.

The German chancery, ever unchangeable in its stately formalities, has pretended, down to our own times, that no kings have a right to a higher title than serenity. At the celebrated treaty of Westphalia, in

which France and Sweden dictated the law to the holy Roman empire, the emperor's plenipotentiaries continually presented Latin memorials, in which "his most sacred imperial majesty" negotiated with "the most serene kings of France and Sweden;" while, on the other hand, the French and Swedes failed not to declare, that their "sacred majesties of France and Sweden" had many subjects of complaint against the "most serene emperor." Since that period, however, the great sovereigns have, in regard to rank, been considered as equals, and he alone, who beats his neighbour, is adjudged to have the pre-eminence.

Philip II. was the first majesty in Spain; for the serenity of Charles V. was converted into majesty only on account of the empire. The children of Philip II. were the first highnesses; and afterwards they were royal highnesses. The duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII. did not take up the title of royal highness till 1631: then the prince of Condé claimed that of most serene highness, which the dukes de Vendome did not venture to assume. The duke of Savoy, at that time royal highness, afterwards substituted majesty. The grand duke of Florence did the same, excepting as to majesty: and, finally, the czar, who was known in Europe only as the grand duke, declared himself emperor, and was recognised as such.

Formerly there were only two marquises of Germany, two in France, and two in Italy. The marquis of Brandenburg has become a king, and a great king. But, at present, our Italian and French marquises are of a somewhat different species.

If an Italian citizen has the honour of giving a dinner to the legate of his province, and the legate, when drinking, says to him, "monsieur le marquis, to your good health," he suddenly becomes a marquis, he and his heirs after him, for ever. If the inhabitant of any province of France, whose whole estate consists of a quarter part of a little decayed castleward, goes to Paris, makes something of a fortune, or carries the air of having made one, he is stiled in the deeds and legal instruments in which he is concerned, "high and mighty

seigneur, marquis and count ;" and his son will be denominated, by his notary, "very high and very mighty seigneur," and, as this frivolous ambition is in no way injurious to government or civil society, it is permitted to take its course. Some French lords boast of employing German barons in their stables : some German lords say they have French marquises in their kitchens ; it is not a long time since a foreigner at Naples made his coachman a duke. Custom, in these cases, has more power than royal authority. If you are but little known at Paris, you may there be a count or a marquis as long as you please ; if you are connected with the law or finance, though the king should confer on you a real marquisate, you will not, therefore, be monsieur le marquis. The celebrated Samuel Bernard was, in truth, more a count than five hundred such as we often see not possessing four acres of land. The king had converted his estate of Coubert into a fine county ; yet if on any occasion he had ordered himself to be announced as count Bernard, &c. he would have excited bursts of laughter. In England it is different ; if the king confers the title of earl or baron on a merchant, all classes address him with the designation suitable to it, without the slightest hesitation. By persons of the highest birth, by the king himself, he is called my lord. It is the same in Italy ; there is a register kept there of *monsignori*. The pope himself addresses them under that title ; his physician is *monsignor*, and no one objects.

In France the title of *monseigneur*, or my lord, is a very serious business. Before the time of cardinal Richelieu, a bishop was only "a most reverend father in God."

Before the year 1635, bishops did not only not assume the title of *monseigneur* themselves, but they did not even give it to cardinals. These two customs were introduced by a bishop of Chartres, who, in full canonicals of lawn and purple, went to call cardinal Richelieu *monseigneur* ; on which occasion Louis XIII. observed, "That Chartrain would not mind saluting the cardinal *au derrière*."

It is only since that period that bishops have mutually applied to each other the title of monseigneur.

The public made no objection to this application of it; but, as it was a new title, not conferred on bishops by kings, they continued to be called sieurs, in edicts, declarations, ordinances, and all official documents; and, when the council write to a bishop, they give him no higher title than monsieur.

The dukes and peers have encountered more difficulty in acquiring possession of the title of monseigneur. The *grande noblesse*, and what is called the grand robe, decidedly refuse them that distinction. The highest gratification of human pride consists in a man's receiving titles of honour from those who conceive themselves his equals; but to attain this is exceedingly difficult: pride always finds pride to contend with.*

* Louis XIV. decided that the untitled nobility should give the title of monseigneur to marshals of France, and the decision was submitted to without difficulty. Every one hoped to attain that honour in his turn.

The same prince conferred on some families peculiar prerogatives. Those bestowed on the house of Lorraine have produced several claims; and at present, the pride of a gentleman easily induces him to class himself with the descendants of a house unquestionably sovereign for the space of seven centuries, which has conferred on France two queens, and which, finally, is established on the imperial throne.

The honours of the houses of Bouillon and Rohan have sustained greater difficulties. It cannot be denied that they existed for a long time without being distinguished from the rest of the nobility. Other families have attained the possession of small sovereignties, like that of Bouillon. A great number might likewise exhibit high alliances; and if a distinguished rank were bestowed on all whom genealogists have discovered to descend from the ancient sovereigns of our provinces, there would be almost as many highnesses as there are marquises or counts.

Louis XIV. ordered the secretaries of state to give the titles of monseigneur and highness to the gentlemen of those two houses; but the secretaries, who had been taken from the nobility, considered themselves absolved, in consequence of their rank as gentlemen, from the observance of the order. Louvois submitted to it; and once wrote to the chevalier de Bouillon as follows:—"My lord, if your highness does not alter your conduct, I will have you shut up in a dungeon. I am, with respect, &c."

When the dukes insisted on receiving the title of monseigneur from the class of gentlemen, the presidents of the parliaments required the same from advocates and proctors. A certain president actually refused to be bled, because his surgeon asked—"In which arm will you be bled, monsieur?"—An old counsellor treated this matter somewhat more gaily. A pleader was saying to him—"monseigneur, monsieur your secretary" He stopped him short:—"You have uttered three blunders," says he, "in as many words. I am not monseigneur; my secretary is not monsieur; he is my clerk."

To put an end to this grand conflict of vanity, it will eventually be found necessary to give the title of monseigneur to every individual in the nation; as women, who were formerly content with mademoiselle, are now to be called madame. In Spain, when a mendicant meets a brother beggar, he thus accosts him:—"Has your courtesy taken chocolate?"—This politeness of language elevates the mind, and keeps up the dignity of the species. Cæsar and Pompey were called in the senate, Cæsar and Pompey. But these men knew nothing of life. They ended their letters with *vale*—adieu. We, who possess more exalted notions, were, sixty years ago, "affectionate servants;" then, "very humble and very obedient;" and now, we "have the honour to be" so. I really grieve for our posterity: they will find it extremely difficult to add to these very beautiful formulas. The duke d'Epemnon, the first of Gascons in pride, though far from being the first of statesmen, wrote, on his death-bed, to cardinal Richelieu, and ended his letter with—"Your very humble and very obedient."—Recollecting, however,

At present, those princes never answer any letters in which the titles of monseigneur and highness are not given them; unless, indeed, they have occasion for the services of the writer; and the nobility refuse to give them either, unless they experience a similar necessity. When a gentleman possessing any share of vanity has to transact business with them, he permits them to use as many titles as they like, but never fails to protest against these titles to his notary. Vanity has two vessels, like Jupiter; but the good one is often very empty.

that the cardinal had used only the phrase "very affectionate," he dispatched an express to bring back the letter (for it had been actually sent off) began it anew, signed "very affectionate," and died in the bed of honour.

We have made many of these observations elsewhere. It is well, however, to repeat them, were it only to correct some pompous peacocks, who would strut away their lives in contemptibly displaying their plumes and their pride.

CERTAIN—CERTAINTY.

I AM certain; I have friends; my fortune is secure; my relations will never abandon me; I shall have justice done me; my work is good; it will be well received; what is owing to me will be paid me; my friend will be faithful, he has sworn it; the minister will advance me—he has, by the way, promised it;—all these are words which a man who has lived a short time in the world erases from his dictionary.

When the judges condemned L'Anglade, Le Brun, Calas, Sirven, Martin, Montbaili, and so many others, since acknowledged to have been innocent, they were certain, or they ought to have been certain, that all these unhappy men were guilty; yet they were deceived.

There are two ways of being deceived; by false judgment and self-blindness—that of erring like a man of genius, and that of deciding like a fool.

The judges deceived themselves like men of genius in the affair of L'Anglade: they were blinded by dazzling appearances, and did not sufficiently examine the probabilities on the other side. Their wisdom made them believe it certain that L'Anglade had committed a theft, which he certainly had not committed; and on this miserable *uncertain* certainty of the human mind, a gentleman was put to the ordinary and extraordinary question; subsequently thrown, without succour, into a dungeon, and condemned to the galleys,

where he died. His wife was shut up in another dungeon, with her daughter, aged seven years, who afterwards married a counsellor of the same parliament which had condemned her father to the galleys, and her mother to banishment.*

It is clear that the judges would not have pronounced this sentence, had they been really certain. However, even at the time this sentence was passed, several persons knew that the theft had been committed by a priest named Gagnat, associated with a highwayman; and the innocence of L'Anglade was not recognised till after his death.

They were in the same manner *certain*, when, by a sentence in the first instance, they condemned to the wheel the innocent Le Brun, who, by an arrêt pronounced on his appeal, was broken on the rack, and died under the torture.

The examples of Calas and Sirven are well known: that of Martin is less so. He was an honest agriculturist, near Bar, in Lorraine. A villain stole his dress, and in this dress murdered a traveller whom he knew to have money, and whose route he had watched. Martin was accused; his dress deposed against him: the judges regarded this evidence as a *certainly*. Not the past conduct of the prisoner, a numerous family whom he had brought up virtuously, neither the little money found on him, nor the extreme probability of his innocence—nothing could save him. The subaltern judge made a merit of his rigour. He condemned the innocent victim to be broken on the wheel; and, by an unhappy fatality, the sentence was executed to the full extent. The senior Martin is broken alive, calling God to witness his innocence to his last breath: his family is dispersed, his little property is confiscated, and scarcely are his broken members exposed

* The horrible case of Mons. L'Anglade, in which a nobleman of the ancient regime of France is exhibited in the most contemptible and atrocious light, is related in the *Causes Célèbres*; and in the little work by Charlotte Smith, which is a selection from it, entitled "The Romance of real Life."—T.

on the great road, when the assassin who had committed the murder and theft is put in prison for another crime, and confessed on the rack, to which he was condemned in his turn, that *he* only was guilty of the crime for which Martin had suffered torture and death.

Montbailli, who slept with his wife, was accused with having, in concert with her, killed his mother, who had evidently died of apoplexy. The council of Arras condemned Montbailli to expire on the rack, and his wife to be burnt. Their innocence was discovered, but not till Montbailli had been tortured.

Let us cease advertence to these melancholy adventures, which make us groan at the human condition; but let us continue to lament the pretended *certainty* of judges, when they pass such sentences.

There is no certainty, except when it is physically or morally impossible that the thing can be otherwise. What! is a strict demonstration necessary to enable us to assert, that the surface of a sphere is equal to four times the area of its great circle;—and is not one required to warrant taking away the life of a citizen by a disgraceful punishment?

If such is the misfortune of humanity that judges must be contented with extreme probabilities, they should at least consult the age, the rank, the conduct of the accused—the interest which he could have in committing the crime, and the interest of his enemies to destroy him. Every judge should say to himself,—Will not posterity, will not entire Europe condemn my sentence? Shall I sleep tranquilly with my hands tainted with innocent blood?

Let us pass from this horrible picture to other examples of a *certainty*, which leads directly to error.

Why art thou loaded with chains, fanatical and unhappy Santon? Why hast thou added a large iron ring on thy miserable scourge? It is because I am certain of being one day placed in the first heaven, by the side of our great prophet. Alas, my friend, come with me to the neighbourhood of Mount Athos, and thou wilt

see three thousand mendicants, who are as certain that *thou* wilt go to the gulf which is under the narrow bridge, as that *they* will all go to the first heaven!

Stop, miserable Malabar widow, believe not the fool who persuades thee that thou shalt be re-united to thy husband, in all the delights of another world, if thou burnest thyself on his funeral pile!—No, I persist in burning myself, because I am *certain* of living in felicity with my husband: my brahmin told me so.

Let us attend to less frightful *certainities*, and which have a little more appearance of truth.

What is the age of your friend Christopher? Twenty-eight years. I have seen his marriage contract, and his baptismal register: I knew him in his infancy; he is twenty-eight—I am *certain* of it.

Scarcely have I heard the answer of this man, so sure of what he said, and of twenty others who confirmed the same thing, when I learn that for secret reasons, and by a singular circumstance, the baptismal register of Christopher has been antedated. Those to whom I had spoken as yet know nothing of it, yet they have still the same *certainity* of that which is not.

If you had asked the whole earth, before the time of Copernicus, Has the sun risen? has it set to-day? All men would have answered, We are quite *certain* of it. They were certain, and they were in error.

Witchcraft, divinations, and possessions, were for a long time the most *certain* things in the world, in the eyes of society. What an innumerable crowd of people who have seen all these fine things, and who have been certain of them! At present, this *certainity* is a little shaken.

A young man who is beginning to study geometry, comes to me; he is only at the definition of triangles. Are you not certain, said I to him, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles? He answered, that not only was he not certain of it, but that he had not the slightest idea of the proposition. I demonstrated it to him. He then became very certain of it, and will remain so all his life.

This is a certainty very different from the others; they were only probabilities, and these probabilities when examined have turned out errors; but mathematical certainty is immutable and eternal.

I exist, I think, I feel grief—is all that as certain as a geometrical truth? Yes, sceptical as I am, I avow it. Why? It is that these truths are proved by the same principle that it is impossible for a thing to exist and not exist at the same time. I cannot at the same time feel and not feel. A triangle cannot at the same time contain a hundred and eighty degrees, which are the sum of two right angles, and not contain them.

The physical certainty of my existence, of my identity, is of the same value as mathematical certainty, although it is of a different kind.

It is not the same with the certainty founded on appearances, or on the unanimous testimony of mankind.

But how, you will say to me—are you not certain that Pekin exists? Have you not merchandise from Pekin? People of different countries and different opinions have vehemently written against one another, while preaching the truth at Pekin; then are you not assured of the existence of this town? I answer, that it is extremely probable that there may be a city of Pekin, but I would not wager my life that such a town exists; and I would at any time wager my life, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles.

In the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* a very pleasant thing appears. It is there maintained, that a man ought to be as certain that marshal Saxe rose from the dead, if all Paris tells him so, as he is sure that marshal Saxe gained the battle of Fontenoy, upon the same testimony.

Pray observe the beauty of this reasoning: as I believe all Paris when it tells me a thing morally possible, I ought to believe all Paris when it tells me a thing morally and physically impossible.

Apparently, the author of this article has a disposition to be risible; as to ourselves, who have only undertaken this little dictionary to ask a few questions,

we are very far from possessing this very extensive certainty.

CHAIN OF CREATED BEINGS.

THE gradation of beings, rising from the lowest to the Great Supreme—the scale of infinity—is an idea that fills us with admiration; but when steadily regarded, this phantom disappears, as apparitions were wont to vanish in the morning at the crowing of the cock.

The imagination is pleased with the imperceptible transition from brute matter to organized matter—from plants to zoophytes—from zoophytes to animals—from animals to men—from men to genii—from these genii clad in a light aerial body, to immaterial substances of a thousand different orders, rising from beauty to perfection, up to God himself. This hierarchy is very pleasing to young men, who look upon it as upon the pope and cardinals, followed by the archbishops and bishops, after whom are the vicars, curates, and priests, the deacons and sub-deacons, then come the monks, and the capuchins bring up the rear.

But there is, perhaps, a somewhat greater distance between God and his most perfect creatures, than between the Holy Father and the dean of the sacred college. The dean may become pope; but can the most perfect of the genii created by the Supreme Being become God? Is there not infinity between them?

Nor does this chain, this pretended gradation, any more exist in vegetables and animals; the proof is, that some species of plants and animals have been entirely destroyed—We have no *murex**—The Jews were forbidden to eat griffin and ixion: these two species, whatever Bochart may say, have probably disappeared from the earth. Where, then, is the chain?

Supposing that we had not lost some species, it is evident that they may be destroyed. Lions and rhinoceroses are becoming very scarce; and if the rest of

* The shell fish, from which the ancients derived their celebrated purple dye.

the nations had imitated the English, there would not now have been a wolf left.

It is probable that there have been races of men who are no longer to be found. Why should they not have existed, as well as the whites, the blacks, the Caffres to whom nature has given an apron of their own skin, hanging from the belly to the middle of the thigh; the Samoyeds, whose women have nipples of a beautiful jet, &c.

Is there not a manifest void between the ape and man? Is it not easy to imagine a two-legged animal without feathers, having intelligence, without our shape or the use of speech—one which we could tame, which would answer our signs, and serve us? And again, between this species and man, cannot we imagine others?

Beyond man, divine Plato, you place in heaven a string of celestial substances, in some of which we believe, because the faith so teaches us. But what reason had you to believe in them? It does not appear that you had spoken with the genius of Socrates; and though Heres, good man, rose again on purpose to tell you the secrets of the other world, he told you nothing of these substances.

In the sensible universe, the pretended chain is no less interrupted.

What gradation, I pray you, is there among the planets? The moon is forty times smaller than our globe. Travelling from the moon through space, you find Venus, about as large as the earth. From thence you go to Mercury, which revolves in an ellipse very different from the circular orbit of Venus; it is twenty-seven times smaller than the earth, the sun is a million of times larger, and Mars is five times smaller. The latter goes his round in two years, his neighbour Jupiter in twelve, and Saturn in thirty; yet Saturn, the most distant of all, is not so large as Jupiter. Where is the pretended gradation?

And then, how, in so many empty spaces, do you extend a chain connecting the whole? There can,

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certainly, be no other than that which Newton discovered—that which makes all the globes of the planetary world gravitate one towards another in the immense void.

Oh, much admired Plato! I fear that thou hast told us nothing but fables, that thou hast spoken to us only as a sophist! Oh, Plato! thou hast done more mischief than thou art aware of. How so? you will ask. I will not tell you.

CHAIN OR GENERATION OF EVENTS.

THE present, we say, is pregnant with the future; events are linked one with another by an invincible fatality. This is the *Fate* which; in Homer, is superior to Jupiter himself. The master of gods and men expressly declares, that he cannot prevent his son Sarpedon from dying at the time appointed. Sarpedon was born at the moment when it was necessary that he should be born, and could not be born at any other; he could not die elsewhere than before Troy; he could not be buried elsewhere than in Lycia; his body must, in the appointed time, produce vegetables, which must change into the substance of some of the Lycians; his heirs must establish a new order of things in his states; that new order must influence neighbouring kingdoms; thence must result a new arrangement in war and in peace with the neighbours of Lycia. So that, from link to link, the destiny of the whole earth depended on the death of Sarpedon, which depended on the elopement of Helen, which had a necessary connection with the marriage of Hecuba, which, ascending to higher events, was connected with the origin of things.

Had any one of these occurrences been ordered otherwise, the result would have been a different universe. Now, it was not possible for the actual universe not to exist; therefore it was not possible for Jupiter, Jove as he was, to save the life of his son.

We are told that this doctrine of necessity and fatality has been invented in our own times, by Leibnitz,

under the name of *sufficing reason*. It is, however, of great antiquity. It is no recent discovery, that there is no effect without a cause, and that often the smallest cause produces the greatest effects.

Lord Bolingbroke acknowledges that he was indebted to the petty quarrels between the duchess of Marlborough and Mrs. Masham, for an opportunity of concluding the private treaty between queen Anne and Louis XIV. This treaty led to the peace of Utrecht; the peace of Utrecht secured the throne of Spain to Philip V.; Philip took Naples and Sicily from the house of Austria. Thus the Spanish prince, who is now king of Naples, evidently owes his kingdom to Mrs. Masham: he would not have had it, nor even have been born, if the duchess of Marlborough had been more complaisant towards the queen of England: his existence at Naples depended on one folly more or less at the court of London.

Examine the situations of every people upon earth; they are in like manner founded on a train of occurrences seemingly without connection, but all connected. In this immense machine, all is wheel, pulley, cord, or spring.

It is the same in physical order. A wind blowing from the southern seas and the remotest parts of Africa, brings with it a portion of the African atmosphere, which, falling in showers in the vallies of the Alps, fertilises our lands; on the other hand, our north wind carries our vapours among the negroes; we do good to Guinea, and Guinea to us. The chain extends from one end of the universe to the other.

But the truth of this principle seems to me to be strangely abused; for it is thence concluded that there is no atom, however small, the movement of which has not influenced the actual arrangement of the whole world; that the most trivial accident, whether among men or animals, is an essential link in the great chain of destiny.

Let us understand one another. Every effect evidently has its cause, ascending from cause to cause,

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into the abyss of eternity; but every cause has not its effect, going down to the end of ages. I grant that all events are produced one by another: if the past was pregnant with the present, the present is pregnant with the future: every thing is begotten, but every thing does not beget. It is as a genealogical-tree: every house, we know, ascends to Adam; but many of the family have died without issue.

The events of this world form a genealogical-tree. It is indisputable that the inhabitants of Spain and Gaul are descended from Gomer, and the Russians from his younger brother Magog; for in how many great books is this genealogy to be found! It cannot then be denied that the Grand Turk, who is also descended from Magog, is obliged to him for the good beating given him in 1769 by the empress Catherine II. This occurrence is evidently linked with other great events; but whether Magog spat to the right or to the left near mount Caucasus—made two or three circles in a well—or whether he lay on his right side or his left, I do not see that it could have much influence on present affairs.

It must be remembered, because it is proved by Newton, that nature is not a *plenum*; and that motion is not communicated by collision until it has made the tour of the universe. Throw a body of a certain density into water: you easily calculate that at the end of such a time the movement of this body, and that which it has given to the water, will cease; the motion will be lost, and rest will be restored. So the motion produced by Magog in spitting into a well, cannot have influenced what is now passing in Moldavia and Wallachia. Present events, then, are not the offspring of all past events: they have their direct lines; but with a thousand small collateral lines they have nothing to do. Once more be it observed, that every being has a parent, but every one has not an offspring.*

* See FATE.

CHANGES THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN THE GLOBE.

WHEN we have seen with our own eyes a mountain advancing into a plain—that is, an immense rock detached from that mountain, and covering the fields; an entire castle buried in the earth; or a swallowed-up river bursting from below; indubitable marks of an immense mass of water having once inundated a country now inhabited; and so many traces of other revolutions, we are even more disposed to believe in the great changes that have altered the face of the world, than a Parisian lady who knows that the square in which her house stands was formerly a cultivated field: but a lady of Naples, who has seen the ruins of Herculaneum under ground, is still less enthralled by the prejudice which leads us to believe that everything has always been as it now is.

Was there a great burning of the world in the time of Phaëton? Nothing is more likely: but this catastrophe was no more caused by the ambition of Phaëton or the anger of Jupiter the thunderer, than at Lisbon, in 1755, the divine vengeance was drawn down, the subterraneous fires kindled, and half the city destroyed, by the fires so often lighted there by the inquisition;—besides, we know that Mequinez, Tetuan, and considerable hordes of Arabs, have been treated even worse than Lisbon, though they had no inquisition.

The island of St. Domingo, entirely devastated not long ago, had no more displeased the Great Being than the island of Corsica: all is subject to eternal physical laws.

Sulphur, bitumen, nitre, and iron, enclosed within the bowels of the earth, have overturned many a city, opened many a gulph; and we are constantly liable to these accidents attached to the way in which this globe is put together; just as, in many countries during winter, we are exposed to the attacks of famishing wolves and tigers.

If fire, which Heraclitus believed to be the principle

of all, has altered the face of a part of the earth, Thales's first principle, water, has operated as great changes.

One half of America is still inundated by the ancient overflowings of the Marañon, Rio de la Plata, the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and all the rivers perpetually swelled by the eternal snows of the highest mountains in the world, stretching from one end of that continent to the other. These accumulated floods have almost everywhere produced vast marshes. The neighbouring lands have become uninhabitable; and the earth, which the hands of man should have made fruitful, has produced only pestilence.

The same thing happened in China and in Egypt: a multitude of ages were necessary to dig canals and dry the lands. Add to these lengthened disasters the irruptions of the sea, the lands it has invaded and deserted, the islands it has detached from the continent, and you will find that, from east to west, from Japan to Mount Atlas, it has devastated more than eighty thousand square leagues.

The swallowing up of the island Atlantis from the ocean may, with as much reason, be considered historical as fabulous. The shallowness of the Atlantic as far as the Canaries, might be taken as a proof of this great event, and the Canaries themselves for fragments of the island Atlantis.

Plato tells us, in his *Timæus*, that the Egyptian priests, amongst whom he had travelled, had in their possession ancient registers which certified that island's going under water. Plato says, that this catastrophe happened nine thousand years before his time. No one will believe this chronology on Plato's word only: but neither can any one adduce against it any physical proof, nor even an historical testimony from any profane writer.

Pliny, in his third book, says, that from time immemorial the people of the southern coasts of Spain believed that the sea had forced a passage between Calpe and Abila—"Indigenæ columnas Herculis vocant,

creduntque per fossas exclusa antea admisisse maria, et rerum naturæ mutâsse faciem."

An attentive traveller may convince himself by his own eyes, that the Cyclades and the Sporades were once part of the continent of Greece, and especially that Sicily was once joined to Apulia. The two volcanos of Etna and Vesuvius having the same basis in the sea, the little gulph of Charybdis; the only deep part of that sea, the perfect resemblance of the two soils, are incontrovertible testimonies. The floods of Deucalion and Ogyges are well known; and the fables founded upon this truth are still more the talk of all the west.

The ancients have mentioned several deluges in Asia. The one spoken of by Berosus happened (as he tells us) in Chaldea, about four thousand three or four hundred years before the Christian era; and Asia was as much inundated with fables about this deluge as it was by the overflowings of the Tigris and Euphrates, and all the rivers that fall into the Euxine.*

It is true that such overflowings cannot cover the country with more than a few feet of water: but the consequent sterility, the washing away of houses, and the destruction of cattle, are losses which it requires nearly a century to repair. We know how much they have cost Holland, more than the half of which has been lost since the year 1050. She is still obliged to sustain a daily conflict with the ever threatening ocean. She has never employed so many soldiers in resisting her enemies as she employs labourers in continually defending her against the assaults of a sea always ready to swallow her.

The road from Egypt to Phenicia, along the borders of lake Serbo, was once quite practicable; but it has long ceased to be so: it is now nothing but a quicksand, moistened by stagnant water. In short, a great portion of the earth would be no other than a vast poisonous marsh, inhabited by monsters, but for the assiduous labour of the human race.

* See DELUGE.

We shall not here speak of the universal deluge of Noah. Let it suffice to read the Holy Scriptures with submission. Noah's flood was an incomprehensible miracle, supernaturally worked by the justice and goodness of an ineffable Providence, whose will it was to destroy the whole guilty human race, and form a new and innocent race. If the new race was more wicked than the former, and became more criminal from age to age, from reformation to reformation, this is but another effect of the same Providence, of which it is impossible for us to fathom the depths, the inconceivable mysteries, transmitted to the nations of the west for many ages, in the Latin translation of the Septuagint. We shall never enter these awful sanctuaries: our questions will be limited to simple nature.

CHARACTER.

[From the Greek word signifying *Impression, Engraving*.—It is what nature has engraven in us.]

CAN we change our character? Yes—if we change our body. A man born turbulent, violent, and inflexible, may, through falling in his old age into an apoplexy, become but as a silly, weak, timid, puling child. His body is no longer the same; but so long as his nerves, his blood, and his marrow, remain in the same state, his disposition will not change, any more than the instinct of a wolf or a polecat.

The English author of the *Dispensary*, a poem much superior to the Italian *Capitoli*, and perhaps even to Boileau's *Lutrin*, has, as it seems to me, well observed—

How matter, by the varied shape of pores,
Or ideots frames, or solemn senators.

The character is formed of our ideas and our feelings. Now, it is quite clear, that we neither give ourselves feelings nor ideas; therefore our character cannot depend on ourselves.

If it did so depend, every one would be perfect.

We cannot give ourselves tastes, nor talents : why, then, should we give ourselves qualities ?

When we do not reflect, we think we are masters of all : when we reflect, we find that we are masters of nothing.

If you would absolutely change a man's character, purge him with diluents till he is dead. Charles XII., in his illness on the way to Bender, was no longer the same man ; he was as tractable as a child.

If I have a wry nose and cat's eyes, I can hide them behind a mask : and can I do more with the character that nature has given me ?

A man born violent and passionate, presents himself before Francis I. king of France, to complain of a trespass. The countenance of the prince, the respectful behaviour of the courtiers, the very place he is in, make a powerful impression upon this man. He mechanically casts down his eyes, his rude voice is softened ; he presents his petition with humility ; you would think him as mild as (at that moment at least) the courtiers appear to be, amidst whom he is even disconcerted : but if Francis I. knows anything of physiognomy, he will easily discover in his eye, though downcast, glistening with a sullen fire, in the extended muscles of his face, in his fast-closed lips, that this man is not so mild as he is forced to appear. The same man follows him to Pavia, is taken prisoner along with him, and thrown into the same dungeon at Madrid. The majesty of Francis I. no longer awes him as before : he becomes familiar with the object of his reverence. One day, pulling on the king's boots, and happening to pull them on ill, the king, soured by misfortune, grows angry, on which our man of courtesy wishes his majesty at the devil, and throws his boots out at the window.

Sixtus V. was by nature petulant, obstinate, haughty, impetuous, vindictive, arrogant : this character, however, seems to have been softened by the trials of his noviciate. But see him beginning to acquire some influence in his order ; he flies into a passion against a

guardian, and knocks him down. Behold him an inquisitor at Venice; he exercises his office with insolence. Behold him cardinal; he is possessed *della rabbia papale*: this rage triumphs over his natural propensities, he buries his person and his character in obscurity, and counterfeits humility and infirmity. He is elected pope; and the spring which policy had held back now acts with all the force of its long-restrained elasticity: he is the proudest and most despotic of sovereigns.

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

Howe'er expell'd, nature will still return.

Religion and morality curb the strength of the disposition, but they cannot destroy it. The drunkard in a cloister, reduced to a quarter of a pint of cider per meal, will never more get drunk, but he will always be fond of wine.

Age weakens the character; it is as an old tree, producing only a few degenerate fruits, but always of the same nature, which is covered with knots and moss, and becomes worm-eaten, but is ever the same, whether oak or pear-tree. If we could change our character, we could give ourselves one, and become the masters of nature. Can we give ourselves anything? do not we receive everything? To strive to animate the indolent man with persevering activity, to freeze with apathy the boiling breast of the impetuous, to inspire a taste for poetry into him who has neither taste nor ear, were as futile as to attempt to give sight to one born blind. We perfect, we ameliorate, we conceal what nature has placed in us; but we place nothing there ourselves.

An agriculturist is told—you have too many fish in this pond; they will not thrive: here are too many cattle in your meadows; they will want grass, and grow lean. After this exhortation, the pikes come and eat one half this man's carps, the wolves one half of his sheep, and the rest fatten. And will you applaud his economy? This countryman is yourself: one of your passions devours the rest, and you think you have

gained a triumph. Do we not almost all resemble the old general of ninety, who, having found some young officers behaving in a rather disorderly manner with some young women, said to them in anger—"Gentlemen, is this the example *I* set you?"

CHARITY.

CHARITABLE AND BENEFICENT INSTITUTIONS,
ALMS-HOUSES, HOSPITALS, &c.

CICERO frequently speaks of universal charity: "*charitas humani generis*;" but it does not appear that the policy or the beneficence of the Romans ever induced them to establish charitable institutions, in which the indigent and the sick might be relieved at the expense of the public. There was a receptacle for strangers at the port of Ostia, called *Xenodokium*. St. Jerome renders this justice to the Romans. Alms-houses seem to have been unknown in ancient Rome. A more noble usage obtained*—that of supplying the people with corn. There were in Rome three hundred and twenty-seven public granaries. This constant liberality precluded any need of alms-houses. They were strangers to necessity.

Neither was there any occasion among the Romans for foundling charities. None exposed their own children. Those of slaves were taken care of by their masters. Child-birth was not deemed disgraceful to the daughters of citizens. The poorest families, maintained by the republic, and afterwards by the emperors, saw the subsistence of their children secured.

The expression charitable establishment, "*maison de charité*," implies a state of indigence among modern nations which the form of our governments has not been able to preclude.

The word hospital, which recalls that of hospitality, reminds us of a virtue in high estimation among the Greeks, now no longer existing: but it also expresses a virtue far superior. There is a mighty difference be-

* Modern political economists will dispute this assertion, and with justice. The distribution of corn clearly pauperised the Roman population.—T.

tween lodging, maintaining, and providing in sickness for all afflicted applicants whatever, and entertaining at your own house two or three travellers by whom you might claim a right to be entertained in return. Hospitality after all was but an exchange. Hospitals are monuments of beneficence.

It is true that the Greeks were acquainted with charitable institutions, under the name of *Xenodokia* for strangers, *Nasocomeia* for the sick, and *Ptokia* for the indigent. In Diogenes Laertius, concerning Bion, we find this passage, "he suffered much from the indigence of those who were charged with the care of the sick."

Hospitality among friends was called *Idioxenia*, and among strangers *Proxenia*. Hence, the person who received and entertained strangers at his house, in the name of the whole city, was called *Proxenos*. But this institution appears to have been exceedingly rare.

At the present day there is scarcely a city in Europe without its hospitals. The Turks have them even for beasts; which seems to be carrying charity rather too far: it would be better to forget the beasts, and think more about men.*

This prodigious multitude of charitable establishments clearly proves a truth, deserving of all our attention—that man is not so depraved as he is stated to be, and that, notwithstanding all his absurd opinions, notwithstanding all the horrors of war, which transform him into a ferocious beast, we have reason to consider him as a creature naturally well disposed and kind, and who, like other animals, becomes vicious only in proportion as he is stung by provocation. The misfortune is, that he is provoked too often.

Modern Rome has almost as many charitable institutions as ancient Rome had triumphal arches and other monuments of conquest. The most considerable of them all is a bank, which lends money at two per cent. upon pledge, and sells the property if the borrower does not redeem it by an appointed time. This establishment is called the *Archiospedale*, or chief hos-

* It may be proper to observe, that this was written when Mr. Martin of Galway was in his cradle.

pital. It is said always to contain within its walls nearly two thousand sick, which would be about the fiftieth part of the population of Rome for this one house alone, without including the children brought up and the pilgrims lodged there. Where are the computations which do not require abatement?

Has it not been actually published at Rome, that the hospital of the Trinity had lodged and maintained, for three days, four hundred and forty thousand five hundred male, and twenty-five thousand female pilgrims, at the jubilee in 1600? Has not Misson himself told us, that the hospital of the Annunciation at Naples possesses a rental of two millions* in our money?

However, to return; perhaps a charitable establishment for pilgrims, who are generally mere vagabonds, is rather an encouragement to idleness than an act of humanity. It is, however, a decisive evidence of humanity, that Rome contains fifty charitable establishments, including all descriptions. These beneficent institutions are quite as useful and respectable as the riches of some monasteries and chapels are useless and ridiculous.

To dispense food, clothing, medicine, and aid of every kind, to our brethren, is truly meritorious; but what need can a saint have of gold and diamonds? What benefit results to mankind from "our Lady of Loretto" possessing more gorgeous treasures than the Turkish Sultan? Loretto is a house of vanity and not of charity.

London, reckoning its charity-schools, has as many beneficent establishments as Rome.

The most beautiful monument of beneficence ever erected, is the Hôtel des Invalids, founded by Louis XIV.

Of all hospitals, that in which the greatest number of indigent sick are daily received, is the Hôtel Dieu of Paris. It frequently contains four or five thousand inmates at a time. It is at once the receptacle of all the dreadful ills to which mankind are subject, and the temple of true virtue, which consists in relieving them.

* About 80,000*l.*—T.

It is impossible to avoid frequently drawing a contrast between a fête at Versailles or an opera at Paris, in which all the pleasures and all the splendours of life are combined with the most exquisite art, and an Hôtel Dieu, where all that is painful, all that is loathsome, and even death itself, are accumulated in one mass of horror. Such is the composition of great cities!

By an admirable policy, pleasures and luxury are rendered subservient to misery and pain. The theatres of Paris pay on an average the yearly sum of a hundred thousand crowns* to the hospital.

It often happens in these charitable institutions that the inconveniencies counterbalance the advantages. One proof of the abuses attached to them is, that patients dread the very idea of being removed to them.

The Hôtel Dieu, for example, was formerly very well situated, in the middle of the city, near the bishop's palace. The situation, now, is very bad; for the city is become overgrown; four or five patients are crowded into every bed, the victim of the scurvy communicates it to his neighbour, and in return receives from him the small-pox, and a pestilential atmosphere spreads incurable disease, and death, not only through the building destined to restore men to healthful life, but through a great part of the city which surrounds it.

M. de Chamousset, one of the most valuable and active of citizens, has computed, from accurate authorities, that, in the Hôtel Dieu, a fourth part of the patients die, an eighth in the hospital of Charity, a ninth in the London hospitals, and a thirtieth in those of Versailles.

In the great and celebrated hospital of Lyons, which has long been one of the best conducted in Europe, the average mortality has been found to be only one fifteenth.

It has been often proposed to divide the Hôtel Dieu of Paris into smaller establishments, better situated, more airy, and salubrious, but money has been wanting to carry the plan into execution.

Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei.

Money is always to be found when men are to be sent to the frontiers, to be destroyed; but when the object is to preserve them, it is no longer so. Yet the Hôtel Dieu of Paris has a revenue amounting to more than a million,* and every day increasing; and the Parisians have rivalled each other in their endowments of it.†

We cannot help remarking in this place, that Germain Brice, in his Description of Paris, speaking of some legacies bequeathed by the first president Bellievre to the hall of the Hôtel Dieu, named St. Charles, says, "every one ought to read the beautiful inscription, engraved in letters of gold on a grand marble tablet, and composed by Oliver Patru, one of the choicest spirits of his time, some of whose pleadings are extant, and in very high esteem."

Whoever thou art that enterest this sacred place, thou wilt almost everywhere behold traces of the charity of the great Pomponne. The gold and silver tapestry and the exquisite furniture which formerly adorned his apartments, are now, by a happy metamorphose, made to minister to the necessities of the sick. That divine man, who was the ornament and delight of his age, even in his conflict with death, considered how he might relieve the afflicted. The blood of Bellievre was manifested in every action of his life. The glory of his embassies is full well known, &c.

The useful Chamousset did better than Germain Brice, or than Oliver Patru, "one of the choicest spirits of his time." He offered to undertake at his own expense, backed by a responsible company, the following contract:

The administrators of the Hôtel Dieu estimated the cost of every patient, whether killed or cured, at fifty livres. M. Chamousset and the company offered to undertake the business, on receiving fifty livres on recovery only. The deaths were to be thrown out of the

* About 40,000*l.*—T.

† We retain this account of the Hôtel Dieu as curiously illustrative of the class of abuses which, without the greatest circumspection, creep into all establishments of the kind.—T.

account, of which the expenses were to be borne by himself.

The proposal was so very advantageous, that it was not accepted. It was feared that he would not be able to accomplish it. Every abuse attempted to be reformed is the patrimony of those who have more influence than the reformers.*

A circumstance no less singular is, that the Hôtel Dieu alone has the privilege of selling meat in Lent, for its own advantage; and it loses money thereby. M. Chamousset proposed to enter into a contract by which the establishment would gain; his offer was rejected; and the butcher, who was thought to have suggested it to him, was dismissed.†

Ainsi chez les humains, par un abus fatal,
Le bien le plus parfait est la source du mal.

Thus serious ill, if tainted by abuse,
The noblest works of man will oft produce.

CHARLES IX.

CHARLES IX. king of France, was (we are told) a good poet. It is quite certain that while he lived his verses were admired. Brantôme does not, indeed, tell us that this king was the best poet in Europe; but he assures us that "he made very genteel quatrains impromptu, without thinking (for he had seen several of them); and when it was wet or gloomy weather, or very hot, he would send for the poets into his cabinet, and pass his time there with them."

* This, if not said, has doubtless been thought, even in Lincoln's-inn Hall.

† In 1775, under the administration of M. Turgot, this ridiculous privilege of the Hôtel Dieu was abolished, and replaced by an impost on victuals brought into the city. Before this, the people of Paris were under the necessity of having unwholesome and very dear food during the whole time of Lent. Yet some have ventured to regret this ancient usage; not because they thought it useful, but because it was a monument of the power which the clergy had too long possessed over public order, and the abolition of the usage accelerated the downfall of that power.

Had he always passed his time thus, and, above all, had he made good verses, we should not have had a St. Bartholomew: he would not have fired with a carbine through his window upon his own subjects, as if they had been a covey of partridges. Is it not impossible for a good poet to be a barbarian? I am persuaded it is.

These lines, addressed in his name to Ronsard, have been attributed to him:—

*Sa lyre, qui ravit par de si doux accords,
Te soumet les esprits dont je n'ai que les corps;
Le maître elle t'en rend, et te fait introduire
Où le plus fier tyran ne peut avoir d'empire.*

*The lyre's delightful softly-swelling lay
Subdues the mind, / but the body sway:
Make thee its master, thy sweet art can bind
What haughty tyrants cannot rule—the mind.*

These lines are good. But are they his? Are they not his preceptor's? Here are some of his royal imaginings, which are somewhat different:—

*Il faut suivre ton roi qui t'aimes par sur tous
Pour les vers qui de toi coulent braves et doux;
Et crois, si tu ne viens pre trouver à Pontoise,
Qu'entre nous adviendra une très-grande noise.*

*Know, thou must follow close thy king, who oft
Hath heard, and loves thee for, thy verse so soft;
Unless thou come and meet me at Pontoise,
Believe me, I shall make no little noise.*

These are worthy the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Cæsar's lines on Terence are written with rather more spirit and taste; they breathe Roman urbanity. In those of Francis I. and Charles IX. we find the barbarism of the Celts. Would to God that Charles IX. had written more verses, even though bad ones! For constant application to the polite arts softens the manners and dispels ferocity:—

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

Besides, the French language scarcely began to take any form until long after Charles IX. See such of Francis I.'s letters as have been preserved—"Tout est perdu sors l'honneur"—"All is lost save honour"—

was worthy of a chevalier. But the following is neither in the style of Cicero nor in that of Cæsar—

“ Tout a fleure ynsi que je me voloïs mettre o lit est arrivé Laval qui m’a aporté la serteneté du lévement du siège.”

“ All was going so well that, when I was going to bed, Laval arrived, and brought me the certainty of the siege being raised.”

We have letters from the hand of Louis XIII., which are no better written. It is not required of a king to write letters like Pliny, or verses like Virgil; but no one can be excused from expressing himself with propriety in his own tongue. Every prince that writes like a lady’s maid has been ill educated.

CHINA.

SECTION I.

WE have frequently observed elsewhere, how rash and injudicious it is to controvert with any nation, such as the Chinese, its authentic pretensions. There is no house in Europe, the antiquity of which is so well proved as that of the empire of China. Let us figure to ourselves a learned Maronite of Mount Athos questioning the nobility of the Morozini, the Tiepolo, and other ancient houses of Venice; of the princes of Germany, of the Montmorencys, the Chatillons, or the Talleyrands, of France, under the pretence that they are not mentioned in St. Thomas, or St. Bonaventure. We must impeach either his sense or his sincerity.

Many of the learned of our northern climes have felt confounded at the antiquity claimed by the Chinese. The question, however, is not one of learning. Leaving all the Chinese literati, all the mandarins, all the emperors, to acknowledge Fohi as one of the first who gave laws to China, about two thousand five hundred years before our vulgar æra. Admit that there must be people before there are kings. Allow that a long period of time is necessary before a numerous people, having discovered the necessary arts of life,

unite in the choice of a common governor. But if you do not make these admissions, it is not of the slightest consequence. Whether you agree with us or not, we shall always believe that two and two make four.

In a western province, formerly called Celtica, the love of singularity and paradox has been carried so far as to induce some to assert, that the Chinese were only an Egyptian, or rather perhaps a Phenician colony. It was attempted to prove, in the same way as a thousand other things have been proved, that a king of Egypt, called Menes by the Greeks, was the Chinese king Yu; and that Atoes was Ki, by the change of certain letters. In addition to which, the following is a specimen of the reasoning applied to the subject:—

The Egyptians sometimes lighted torches at night. The Chinese light lanterns: the Chinese are therefore evidently a colony from Egypt. The jesuit Parennin who had, at the time, resided five and twenty years in China, and was master both of its language and its sciences, has rejected all these fancies with a happy mixture of elegance and sarcasm. All the missionaries, and all the Chinese, on receiving the intelligence that a country in the extremity of the west was developing a new formation of the Chinese empire, treated it with contemptuous ridicule. Father Perennin replied with somewhat more seriousness:—"Your Egyptians," says he, "when going to people China, must evidently have passed through India." Was India at that time peopled or not? If it was, would it permit a foreign army to pass through it? If it was not, would not the Egyptians have stopped in India? Would they have continued their journey through barren deserts, and over almost impracticable mountains, till they reached China, in order to form colonies there, when they might so easily have established them on the fertile banks of the Indus or the Ganges?

The compilers of a universal history, printed in England, have also shown a disposition to divest the Chinese of their antiquity, because the jesuits were the first who made the world acquainted with China.

This is unquestionably a very satisfactory reason for saying to a whole nation—"You are liars."

It appears to me a very important reflection, which may be made on the testimony given by Confutzé, called by us Confucius, to the antiquity of his nation; and which is, that Confucius had no interest in falsehood: he did not pretend to be a prophet; he claimed no inspiration; he taught no new religion; he used no delusions; flattered not the emperor under whom he lived: he did not even mention him. In short, he is the only founder of institutions among mankind who was not followed by a train of women.

I knew a philosopher who had no other portrait than that of Confucius in his study. At the bottom of it were written the following lines:—

Without assumption he explor'd the mind,
Unveil'd the light of reason to mankind;
Spoke as a sage, and never as a seer,
Yet, strange to say, his country held him dear.

I have read his books with attention; I have made extracts from them; I have found in them nothing but the purest morality, without the slightest tinge of charlatanism. He lived six hundred years before our vulgar æra. His works were commented on by the most learned men of the nation. If he had falsified, if he had introduced a false chronology, if he had written of emperors who never existed, would not some one have been found, in a learned nation, who would have reformed his chronology? One Chinese only has chosen to contradict him, and he met with universal execration.

Were it worth our while, we might here compare the great wall of China with the monuments of other nations, which have never even approached it; and remark, that, in comparison with this extensive work, the pyramids of Egypt are only puerile and useless masses. We might dwell on the thirty-two eclipses calculated in the ancient chronology of China, twenty-eight of which have been verified by the mathematicians of Europe. We might show, that the respect entertained by the Chinese for their ancestors is an

evidence that such ancestors have existed ; and repeat the observation, so often made, that this reverential respect has in no small degree impeded, among this people, the progress of natural philosophy, geometry, and astronomy.

It is sufficiently known, that they are, at the present day, what we all were three hundred years ago, very ignorant reasoners. The most learned Chinese is like one of the learned of Europe in the fifteenth century, in possession of his Aristotle. But it is possible to be a very bad natural philosopher, and at the same time an excellent moralist. It is, in fact, in morality, in political economy, in agriculture, in the necessary arts of life, that the Chinese have made such advances towards perfection. All the rest they have been taught by us : in these we might well submit to become their disciples.

Of the Expulsion of the Missionaries from China.

Humanly speaking, independently of the service which the jesuits might confer on the Christian religion, are they not to be regarded as an ill-fated class of men, in having travelled from so remote a distance to introduce trouble and discord into one of the most extended and best-governed kingdoms of the world ? And does not their conduct involve a dreadful abuse of the liberality and indulgence shewn by the orientals, more particularly after the torrents of blood shed, through their means, in the empire of Japan ? A scene of horror, to prevent the consequences of which the government believed it absolutely indispensable to shut their ports against all foreigners.

The jesuits had obtained permission of the emperor of China, Cam-hi, to teach the Catholic religion. They made use of it, to instil into the small portion of the people under their direction, that it was incumbent upon them to serve no other master than him who was the vicegerent of God on earth, and who dwelt in Italy on the banks of a small river called the Tiber ; that every other religious opinion, every other worship, was an abomination in the sight of God, and whoever did

not believe the jesuits would be punished by him to all eternity; that their emperor and benefactor, Cam-hi, who could not even pronounce the name of *Christ*, as the Chinese language possesses not the letter *r*, would suffer eternal damnation; that the emperor Youtchin would experience, without mercy, the same fate; that all the ancestors, both of Chinese and Tartars, would incur a similar penalty; that their descendants would undergo it also, as well as the rest of the world; and that the reverend fathers, the jesuits, felt a sincere and paternal commiseration for the damnation of so many souls.

They at length succeeded in making converts of three princes of the Tartar race. In the mean time the emperor Cam-hi died, towards the close of the year 1722. He bequeathed the empire to his fourth son, who has been so celebrated through the whole world for the justice and the wisdom of his government, for the affection entertained for him by his subjects, and for the expulsion of the jesuits.

They began by baptising the three princes, and many persons of their household. These neophytes had the misfortune to displease the emperor on some points which merely respected military duty. About this very period the indignation of the whole empire against the missionaries broke out into a flame. All the governors of provinces, all the Colaos, presented memorials against them. The accusations against them were urged so far that the three princes, who had become disciples of the jesuits, were put into irons.

It is clear that they were not treated with this severity simply for having been baptised, since the jesuits themselves acknowledge in their letters, that *they* experienced no violence, and that they were even admitted to an audience of the emperor, who honoured them with some presents. It is evident therefore that the emperor Youtchin was no persecutor; and, if the princes were confined in a prison on the borders of Tartary, while those who had converted them were treated so liberally, it is a decided proof that they were state prisoners, and not martyrs.

The emperor, soon after this, yielded to the supplications of all his people. They petitioned that the jesuits might be sent away, as their abolition has been since prayed for in France and other countries.

All the tribunals of China urged their being immediately sent to Macao, which is considered as a place without the limits of the empire, and the possession of which has always been left to the Portuguese, with a Chinese garrison.

Yontchin had the humanity to consult the tribunals and governors, whether any danger could result from conveying all the jesuits to the province of Canton. While waiting the reply, he ordered three of them to be introduced to his presence, and addressed them in the following words, which father Parennin, with great ingenuousness, records—"Your Europeans, in the province of Fo-Kien, intended to abolish our laws, and disturbed our people. The tribunals have denounced them before me. It is my positive duty to provide against such disorders: the good of the empire requires it. . . . What would you say were I to send over to your country a company of bonzes and lamas to preach their law? How would you receive them? . . . If you deceived my father, hope not also to deceive me. . . . You wish to make the Chinese Christians: your law, I well know, requires this of you. But in case you should succeed, what should we become?—the subjects of your kings. Christians believe none but you: in a time of confusion they would listen to no voice but yours. I know that, at present, there is nothing to fear; but on the arrival of a thousand, or perhaps ten thousand vessels, great disturbances might ensue."

"China, on the north, joins the kingdom of Russia; which is by no means contemptible; to the south it has the Europeans, and their kingdoms, which are still more considerable;* and to the west, the princes of Tartary, with whom we have been at war eight years. . . . Laurence Lange, companion of prince

* Yontchin here means the establishments of Europeans in India.

Ismailoff, ambassador from the czar, requested that the Russians might have permission to establish factories in each of the provinces. The permission was confined to Peking, and within the limits of Calcas. In like manner, I permit you to remain here and at Canton as long as you avoid giving any cause of complaint. Should you give any, I will not suffer you to remain either here or at Canton."

In the other provinces their houses and churches were levelled to the ground. At length the clamour against them redoubled. The charges most strenuously insisted upon against them were, that they weakened the respect of children for their parents, by not paying the honours due to ancestors; that they indecently brought together young men and women in retired places, which they called churches; that they made girls kneel before them, and inclosed them with their legs, and conversed with them, while in this posture, in under tones. To Chinese delicacy, nothing appeared more revolting than this. Their emperor Yontchin even condescended to inform the jesuits of this fact; after which he sent away the greater part of the missionaries to Macao, but with all that polite attention which perhaps the Chinese alone are capable of displaying.

Some jesuits, possessed of mathematical science, were retained at Peking; and among others, that same Parennin whom we have mentioned; and who, being a perfect master both of the Chinese and of the Tartar language, had been frequently employed as an interpreter. Many of the jesuits concealed themselves in the distant provinces; others even in Canton itself; and the affair was connived at.

At length, after the death of the emperor Yontchin, his son and successor, Kien-long, completed the satisfaction of the nation, by obliging all the missionaries who were in concealment throughout his empire to remove to Macao: a solemn edict prohibited them from ever returning. If any appear, they are civilly requested to carry their talents somewhere else. There is nothing of severity, nothing of persecution. I have

been told that, in 1760, a jesuit having gone from Rome to Canton, and been informed against by a Dutch factor, the Colao governor of Canton sent him away, presenting him at the same time with a piece of silk, some provisions, and money.

Of the pretended Atheism of China.

The charge of Atheism, alleged by our theologians of the west, against the Chinese government* at the other end of the world, has been frequently examined, and is, it must be admitted, the meanest excess of our follies and pedantic inconsistencies. It was sometimes pretended, in one of our learned faculties, that the Chinese tribunals, or parliaments, were idolatrous; sometimes that they acknowledged no divinity whatever: and these reasoners occasionally pushed their insane logic so far as to maintain, that the Chinese were, at the same time, atheists and idolaters.

In the month of October, 1700, the Sorbonne declared every proposition, which maintained that the emperor and the Colaos believed in God, to be heretical. Bulky volumes were composed in order to demonstrate, conformably to the system of theological demonstration, that the Chinese adored nothing but the material heaven.

Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant.

They worship clouds and firmament alone.

But if they did adore the material heaven, that was their God. They resembled the Persians, who are said to have adored the sun: they resembled the ancient Arabians, who adored the stars: they were neither worshippers of idols nor atheists. But a learned doctor, when it is an object to denounce from his tripod any proposition as heretical or obnoxious, does not distinguish with much clearness.

Those contemptible creatures who, in 1700, created such a disturbance about the material heaven of the

* See in the "Age of Louis XIV." the "Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations," and elsewhere.

Chinese, did not know that, in 1689, the Chinese, having made peace with the Russians at Niptchou, which divides the two empires, they, in September of the same year, erected a marble monument, on which the following memorable words were engraved in the Chinese and Latin languages:—

“Should any ever determine to rekindle the flames of war, we pray the sovereign Lord of all things, who knows the heart, to punish their perfidy,” &c.*

A very small portion of modern history is sufficient to put an end to these ridiculous disputes: but those who believe that the duty of man consists in writing commentaries on St. Thomas, or Scotus, cannot condescend to inform themselves of what is going on among the great empires of the world.

SECTION II.

We travel to China to obtain clay for porcelain, as if we had none ourselves; stuffs, as if we were destitute of stuffs; and a small herb to be infused in water, as if we had no simples in our own countries. In return for these benefits, we are desirous of converting the Chinese. It is a very commendable zeal; but we must avoid controverting their antiquity, and also calling them idolaters. Should we think it well of a capuchin, if, after having been hospitably entertained at the chateau of the Montmorencys, he endeavoured to persuade them that they were new nobility, like the king's secretaries; or accused them of idolatry, because he found two or three statues of constables, for whom they cherished the most profound respect?

The celebrated Wolfe, professor of mathematics in the university of Halle, delivered once an excellent discourse in praise of the Chinese philosophy. He praised that ancient species of the human race, differing, as it does, from our own in respect to the beard, the eyes, the nose, the ears, and even the reasoning powers themselves;—he praised the Chinese, I say, for

* See the “History of Russia under Peter I.” founded on memorials communicated by the empress Elizabeth.

their adoration of a supreme God, and their love of virtue. He did that justice to the emperors of China, to the tribunals, and to the literati. The justice done to the bonzes was of a different kind.

It is necessary to observe, that this professor Wolfe had attracted around him a thousand pupils of all nations. In the same university there was also a professor of theology, who attracted no one. This man, maddened at the thought of freezing to death in his own deserted hall, formed the design, which undoubtedly was only right and reasonable, of destroying the mathematical professor. He scrupled not, according to the practice of persons like himself, to accuse him of not believing in God.

Some European writers, who had never been in China, had pretended that the government of Pekin was atheistical. Wolfe had praised the philosophers of Pekin; therefore Wolfe was an atheist. Envy and hatred seldom construct the best syllogisms. This argument of Lange, supported by a party and by a protector, was considered conclusive by the sovereign of the country, who dispatched a formal dilemma to the mathematician. This dilemma gave him the option of quitting Halle in twenty-four hours, or of being hanged; and as Wolfe was a very accurate reasoner, he did not fail to quit. His withdrawing deprived the king of two or three hundred thousand crowns a year, which were brought into the kingdom in consequence of the wealth of this philosopher's disciples.

This case should convince sovereigns that they ought not to be over ready to listen to calumny, and sacrifice a great man to the madness of a fool. But let us return to China.

Why should we concern ourselves, we who live at the extremity of the west,—why should we dispute with abuse and fury, whether there were fourteen princes or not before Fo-hi, emperor of China, and whether the said Fo-hi lived three thousand, or two thousand nine hundred years before our vulgar era? I should like to see two Irishmen quarrelling at Dublin, about

who was the owner, in the twelfth century, of the estate I am now in possession of. Is it not clear, that they should refer to me, who possess the documents and titles relating to it? To my mind, the case is the same with respect to the first emperors of China, and the tribunals of that country are the proper resort upon the subject.

Dispute as long as you please about the fourteen princes who reigned before Fo-hi, your very interesting dispute cannot possibly fail to prove that China was at that period populous, and that laws were in force there. I now ask you whether a people's being collected together, under laws and kings, involves not the idea of very considerable antiquity? Reflect how long a time is requisite, before, by a singular concurrence of circumstances, the iron is discovered in the mine, before it is applied to purposes of agriculture, before the invention of the shuttle, and all the other arts of life.

Some who multiply mankind by a dash of the pen, have produced very curious calculations. The jesuit Petau, by a very singular computation, gives the world, two hundred and twenty-five years after the deluge, one hundred times as many inhabitants as can be easily conceived to exist on it at present. The Cumberlands and Whistons have formed calculations equally ridiculous; had these worthies only consulted the registers of our colonies in America, they would have been perfectly astonished, and would have perceived not only how slowly mankind increase in number, but that frequently instead of increasing they actually diminish.

Let us then, who are merely of yesterday, descendants of the Celts, who have only just finished clearing the forests of our savage territories, suffer the Chinese and Indians to enjoy in peace their fine climate and their antiquity. Let us, especially, cease calling the emperor of China, and the souba of the Dekan, idolaters. There is no necessity for being a zealot in estimating Chinese merit. The constitution of their empire is the only one entirely established

upon paternal authority; the only one in which the governor of a province is punished, if, on quitting his station, he does not receive the acclamations of the people; the only one which has instituted rewards for virtue, while, everywhere else, the sole object of the laws is the punishment of crime; the only one which has caused its laws to be adopted by its conquerors, while we are still subject to the customs of the Burgundians, the Franks, and the Goths, by whom we were conquered. Yet, we must confess, that the common people, guided by the bonzes, are equally knavish with our own; that everything is sold enormously dear to foreigners, as among ourselves; that, with respect to the sciences, the Chinese are just where we were two hundred years ago; that, like us, they labour under a thousand ridiculous prejudices; and that they believe in talismans and judicial astrology, as we long did ourselves.

We must admit also, that they were astonished at our thermometer, at our method of freezing fluids by means of salt-petre, and at all the experiments of Torricelli and Otto de Guericke; as we were also, on seeing for the first time those curious processes. We add, that their physicians do not cure mortal diseases any more than our own; and that minor diseases, both here and in China, are cured by nature alone. All this, however, does not interfere with the fact, that the Chinese, for four thousand years, when we were unable even to read, knew everything essentially useful of which we boast at the present day.

I must again repeat, the religion of their learned is admirable, and free from superstitions, from absurd legends, from dogmas insulting both to reason and nature, to which the bonzes give a thousand different meanings, because they really often have none. The most simple worship has appeared to them the best, for a series of forty centuries. They are, what we conceive Seth, Enoch, and Noah to have been; they are contented to adore one God in communion with the sages of the world, while Europe is divided between

Thomas and Bonaventure, between Calvin and Luther, between Jansenius and Molina.*

CHRISTIANITY.†

Establishment of Christianity, in its Civil and Political State.

GOD forbid that we should have dare to mix the sacred with the profane! We seek not to fathom the depths of the ways of Providence. We are men, and we address men only.

When Antony, and after him Augustus, had given Judea to the Arabian, Herod (their creature and their tributary), that prince, a stranger among the Jews, became the most powerful of all kings. He had ports on the Mediterranean—Ptolemais and Ashkelon; he built towns; he erected a temple to Apollo at Rhodes, and one to Augustus in Cesarea: he rebuilt that of Jerusalem from the foundation, and converted it into a strong citadel. Under his rule, Palestine enjoyed profound peace. In short, barbarous as he was to his family, and tyrannical towards his people, whose substance he consumed in the execution of his projects, he was looked upon as a messiah. He worshipped only Cæsar, and he was almost worshipped by the Herodians.

The sect of the Jews had long been spread in Europe and Asia; but its tenets were entirely unknown. No one knew anything of the Jewish books, although we are told that some of them had already been translated into Greek, in Alexandria. The Jews were known only as the Armenians are now known to the Turks and Persians, as brokers and traders. Further, a Turk never takes the trouble to enquire, whether an Armenian is an Eutychian, a Jacobite, one of St. John's Christians, or an Arian.

* The object of Voltaire in thus exalting the Chinese is obvious. The panegyric is undoubtedly overcharged; but substantially, his inferences and applications are unanswerable.—T.

† These two articles on CHRISTIANITY, taken from two different works, are here printed in chronological order.

The theism of China, and the much to be respected books of Confucius, were still less known to the nations of the west, than the Jewish rites.

The Arabians, who furnished the Romans with the precious commodities of India, had no more idea of the theology of the Brahmins, than our sailors who go to Pondicherry or Madras. The Indian women had from time immemorial enjoyed the privilege of burning themselves on the bodies of their husbands; yet these astonishing sacrifices, which are still practised, were as unknown to the Jews as the customs of America. Their books, which speak of Gog and Magog, never mention India.

The ancient religion of Zoroaster was celebrated; but was not therefore the more understood in the Roman empire. It was only known, in general, that the magi admitted a resurrection, a hell, and a paradise; which doctrine must at that time have made its way to the Jews bordering on Chaldea; since, in Herod's time, Palestine was divided between the Pharisees, who began to believe the dogma of the resurrection, and the Sadducees, who regarded it only with contempt.

Alexandria, the most commercial city in the whole world, was peopled with Egyptians, who worshipped Serapis, and consecrated cats; with Greeks, who philosophised; with Romans, who ruled; and with Jews, who amassed wealth. All these people were eagerly engaged in money-getting, immersed in pleasure, infuriate with fanaticism, making and unmaking religious sects, especially during the external tranquillity which they enjoyed when Augustus had shut the temple of Janus.

The Jews were divided into three principal factions. Of these, the Samaritans called themselves the most ancient, because Samaria (then Sebastia) had subsisted, while Jerusalem, with its temple, was destroyed under the Babylonian kings. But these Samaritans were a mixture of the people of Persia with those of Palestine.

The second, and most powerful faction, was that of the Hierosolymites. These Jews, properly so called,

detested the Samaritans, and were detested by them. Their interests were all opposite. They wished that no sacrifices should be offered but in the temple of Jerusalem. Such a restriction would have brought a deal of money into their city; and, for this very reason, the Samaritans would sacrifice nowhere but at home. A small people, in a small town, may have but one temple; but when a people have extended themselves over a country seventy leagues long, by twenty-three wide, as the Jews had done,—when their territory is almost as large and populous as Languedoc or Normandy, it would be absurd to have but one church. What would the good people of Montpellier say, if they could attend mass nowhere but at Toulouse?

The third faction were the Hellenian Jews, consisting chiefly of such as were engaged in trade or handicraft in Egypt and Greece. These had the same interests with the Samaritans. Onias, the son of a high priest, wishing to be a high priest like his father, obtained permission from Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, and in particular from the king's wife Cleopatra, to build a Jewish temple near Bubastis. He assured queen Cleopatra, that Isaiah had foretold that the Lord should one day have a temple on that spot; and Cleopatra, to whom he made a handsome present, sent him word that, since Isaiah had said it, it must be. This temple was called the Onion; and if Onias was not a great sacrificer, he commanded a troop of militia. It was built one hundred and sixty years before the Christian era. The Jews of Jerusalem always held this Onion in abhorrence, as they did the translation called the Septuagint. They even instituted an expiatory feast for these two pretended sacrileges. The rabbis of the Onion, mingling with the Greeks, became more learned (in their way) than the rabbis of Jerusalem and Samaria; and the three factions began to dispute on controversial questions, which necessarily make men subtle, false, and unsocial.

The Egyptian Jews, in order to equal the austerity of the Essenes and the Judaïtes of Palestine, established, some time before the birth of Christianity, the

sect of the Therapeutæ, who, like them, devoted themselves to a sort of monastic life, and to mortifications.

These different societies were imitations of the old Egyptian, Persian, Thracian, and Greek mysteries, which had filled the earth, from the Euphrates and the Nile to the Tyber.

At first, such as were initiated into these fraternities were few in number, and were looked upon as privileged men; but in the time of Augustus, their number was very considerable; so that nothing but religion was talked of, from Syria to Mount Atlas and the German ocean.

Amidst all these sects and worships, the school of Plato had established itself, not in Greece alone, but also in Rome, and especially in Egypt. Plato had been considered as having drawn his doctrine from the Egyptians, who thought that, in turning Plato's ideas to account, his *Word*, and the sort of trinity discoverable in some of his works, they were but claiming their own.

This philosophic spirit, spread at that time over all the known countries of the west, seems to have emitted, in the neighbourhood of Palestine, at least a few sparks of the spirit of reasoning.

It is certain that, in Herod's time, there were disputes on the attributes of the Divinity, on the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body. The Jews relate, that queen Cleopatra asked them whether we were to rise again dressed or naked?

The Jews, then, were reasoners in their way. The exaggerating Josephus was, for a soldier, very learned. Such being the case with a military man, there must have been many learned men in civil life. His contemporary, Philo, would have had reputation, even among the Greeks. St. Paul's master, Gamaliel, was a great controversialist. The authors of the Mishna were polymathists.

The Jewish populace discoursed on religion. As, at the present day, in Switzerland, at Geneva, in Germany, in England, and especially in the Cévennes, we find even the meanest of the inhabitants dealing in

controversy. Nay, more; men from the dregs of the people have founded sects: as Fox, in England; Muncer, in Germany; and the first reformers in France. Indeed Mahomet himself, setting apart his great courage, was nothing more than a camel-driver.

Add to these preliminaries, that, in Herod's time, it was imagined, as is elsewhere remarked,* that the world was soon to be at an end.

In those days, prepared by divine providence, it pleased the eternal Father to send his Son upon earth—an adorable and incomprehensible mystery, which we presume not to approach.

We only say, that if Jesus preached a pure morality; if he announced the kingdom of heaven as the reward of the just; if he had disciples attached to his person and his virtues; if those very virtues drew upon him the persecutions of the priests; if, through calumny, he was put to a shameful death; his doctrine, constantly preached by his disciples, would necessarily have a great effect in the world. Once more let me repeat it—I speak only after the manner of this world, setting the multitude of miracles and prophecies entirely aside. I maintain it, that Christianity was more likely to succeed by his death, than if he had not been persecuted. You are astonished that his disciples made other disciples. I should have been much more astonished, if they had not brought over a great many to their party. Seventy individuals, convinced of the innocence of their leader, the purity of his manners, and the barbarity of his judges, must influence many a feeling heart.

Saint Paul alone, become (for whatever reason) the enemy of his master Gamaliel, must have had it in his power to bring Jesus a thousand adherents, even supposing Jesus to have been only a worthy and oppressed man. Paul was learned, eloquent, vehement, indefatigable, skilled in the Greek tongue, and seconded by zealots much more interested than himself in defending their master's reputation. St. Luke was an Alexan-

drian Greek,* and a man of letters, for he was a physician.

The first chapter of John displays a Platonic sublimity, which must have been gratifying to the Platonists of Alexandria. And indeed there was even formed in that city a school founded by Luke, or by Mark (either the evangelist or some other), and perpetuated by Athenagoras, Pantænus, Origen, and Clement—all learned and eloquent. This school once established, it was impossible for Christianity not to make a rapid progress.

Greece, Syria, and Egypt, were the scenes of those celebrated ancient mysteries, which enchanted the minds of the people. The Christians, too, had their mysteries, in which men would eagerly seek to be initiated, and if at first only through curiosity, this curiosity soon became persuasion. The idea of the approaching end of all things was especially calculated to induce the new disciples to despise the transitory goods of this life, which were so soon to perish with them. The example of the Therapeutæ was an incitement to a solitary and mortified life. All things, then, powerfully concurred in the establishment of the Christian religion.

The different flocks of this great rising society could not, it is true, agree among themselves. Fifty-four societies had fifty-four different gospels; all secret, like their mysteries; all unknown to the Gentiles, who never saw our four canonical gospels until the end of two hundred and fifty years. These various flocks, though divided, acknowledged the same pastor. Ebionites, opposed to St. Paul; Nazarenes, disciples of Hymeneos, Alexandros, and Hermogenes; Carpocratians, Basilidians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Sabelians, Gnostics, Montanists—a hundred sects, rising

* The title of St. Luke's gospel, in Syriac, runs thus—"The Gospel of Luke the Evangelist, who preached the gospel in Greek, in Alexandria the greater." In the Apostolical constitutions we still find these words—"The second bishop of Alexandria was Avictus, instituted by Luke."

one against another, and casting mutual reproaches, were nevertheless all united in Jesus; all called upon Jesus; all made Jesus the great object of their thoughts, and reward of their travails.

The Roman empire, in which all these societies were formed, at first paid no attention to them: they were known at Rome only by the general name of Jews, about whom the government gave itself no concern. The Jews had, by their money, acquired the right of trading. In the reign of Tiberius, four thousand of them were driven out of Rome; in that of Nero, the people charged them, and the new demi-Christian Jews, with the burning of Rome.

They were again expelled, in the reign of Claudius; but their money always procured them re-admission: they were quiet and despised. The Christians of Rome were not so numerous as those of Greece, Alexandria, and Syria. The Romans, in the earlier ages, had neither fathers of the church nor heresiarchs. The further they were from the birth-place of Christianity, the fewer doctors and writers were to be found among them. The church was Greek; so much so, that every mystery, every rite, every tenet, was expressed in the Greek tongue.

All Christians, whether Greek, Syrian, Roman, or Egyptian, were considered as half Jewish. This was another reason for concealing their books from the Gentiles, that they might remain united and impenetrable. Their secret was more inviolably kept than that of the mysteries of Isis or of Ceres: they were a republic apart—a state within the state. They had no temples, no altars, no sacrifice, no public ceremony. They elected their secret superiors by a majority of voices. These superiors, under the title of ancients, priests, bishops, or deacons, managed the common purse, took care of the sick, and pacified quarrels. Among them, it was a shame and a crime to plead before the tribunals, or to enlist in the armed force; and, for a hundred years, there was not a single Christian in the armies of the empire.

Thus, retired in the midst of the world, and unknown even when they appeared, they escaped the tyranny of the proconsuls and prætors, and were free amid the public slavery.

It is not known who wrote the famous book entitled "Ton Apostolon Didakai" (the Apostolical Constitutions)—as it is unknown who were the authors of the fifty rejected gospels, of the Acts of St. Peter, of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and of so many other writings of the first Christians; but it is likely that the Constitutions are of the second century. Though falsely attributed to the apostles, they are very valuable. They show us what were the duties of a bishop chosen by the Christians, how they were to reverence him, and what tribute they were to pay him.

The bishop could have but one wife, who was to take good care of his household:—"Mias andra gegemenon gunaikos monogamou kalos tou idiou oikou proestota."

Rich Christians were exhorted to adopt the children of poor ones. Collections were made for the widows and orphans: but the money of sinners was rejected; and, nominally, an innkeeper was not permitted to give his mite. It is said that they were regarded as cheats; for which reason, very few tavern-keepers were Christians. This also prevented the Christians from frequenting the taverns; thus completing their separation from the society of the Gentiles.

The dignity of deaconess being attainable by the women, they were the more attached to the Christian fraternity. They were consecrated; the bishop anointing them on the forehead, as of old the Jewish kings were wont to be anointed. By how many indissoluble ties were the Christians bound together!

The persecutions, which were never more than transitory, did but serve to redouble their zeal, and in-

flame their fervour ; so that, under Dioclesian, one third of the empire was Christian.

Such were a few of the human causes that contributed to the progress of Christianity. If to these we add the divine causes, which are to the former as infinity to unity, there is only one thing which can surprise us ;—that a religion so true did not at once extend itself over the two hemispheres, not excepting the most savage islet.

God himself came down from heaven, and died to redeem mankind, and extirpate sin for ever from the face of the earth ; and yet, he left the greater part of mankind a prey to error, to crime, and to the devil. This, to our weak intellects, appears a fatal contradiction. But it is not for us to question Providence : our duty is to humble ourselves in the dust before it.

SECTION II.

Several learned men have testified their surprise at not finding in the historian Flavius Josephus, any mention of Jesus Christ ; for all men of true learning are now agreed that the short passage relative to him in that history has been interpolated.* The father of Flavius Josephus must, however, have been witness to all the miracles of Jesus. Josephus was of the sacerdotal race, and akin to Herod's wife, Mariamne. He gives us long details of all that prince's actions, yet says not a word of the life or death of Jesus : nor does

* The Christians, by one of those frauds called pious, grossly falsified a passage in Josephus. They invented for this Jew, so extremely zealous for his own religion, four awkwardly interpolated lines ; and at the end of the passage they add, " And he was the Christ." What ! Josephus had heard of so many events out of the course of nature ; yet, in the history of his country, gives us but four lines about them ! What ! this obstinate Jew said that Jesus was the Christ ! Then, if he believed him to have been Christ, he must have been a Christian. What an absurdity ! to make Josephus talk like a Christian. And are there still to be found theologians weak or insolent enough to strive to justify this imposture of the first Christians, so long acknowledged to have been the fabricators of impostures fifty times more gross even than this !

this historian, who disguises none of Herod's cruelties, say one word of the general massacre of the infants, ordered by him on hearing that there was born a king of the Jews. The Greek calendar estimates the number of children murdered, on this occasion, at fourteen thousand.

This is, of all actions of all tyrants, the most horrible. There is no example of it in the history of the whole world.

Yet the best writer the Jews have ever had, the only one esteemed by the Greeks and Romans, makes no mention of an event so singular and so frightful. He says nothing of the appearance of a new star in the east, after the birth of our Saviour—a brilliant phenomenon, which could not escape the knowledge of an historian so enlightened as Josephus. He is also silent respecting the darkness which, on our Saviour's death, covered the whole earth for three hours at mid-day, the great number of graves that opened at that moment, and the multitude of the just that rose again.

The learned are constantly evincing their surprise that no Roman historian speaks of these prodigies, happening in the empire of Tiberius, under the eyes of a Roman governor and a Roman garrison, who must have sent to the emperor and the senate a detailed account of the most miraculous event that mankind had ever heard of. Rome itself must have been plunged for three hours in impenetrable darkness: such a prodigy would have had a place in the annals of Rome, and in those of every nation. But it was not God's will that these divine things should be written down by their profane hands.

The same persons also find some difficulties in the gospel history. They remark that, in Matthew, Jesus Christ tells the scribes and pharisees that all the innocent blood that has been shed upon earth, from that of Abel the just, down to that of Zachary, son of Barac, whom they slew between the temple and the altar, shall be upon their heads.

There is not (say they) in the Hebrew history any

Zachary slain in the temple before the coming of the Messiah, nor in his time : but in the history of the siege of Jerusalem by Josephus, there is a Zachary, son of Barac, slain by the faction of the Zelotes : this is in the nineteenth chapter of the fourth book. Hence they suspect that the gospel according to St. Matthew was written after the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. But every doubt, every objection of this kind, vanishes when it is considered how great a difference there must be between books divinely inspired and the books of men. It was God's pleasure to envelope alike in awful obscurity his birth, his life, and his death. His ways are in all things different from ours.

The learned have also been much tormented by the difference between the two genealogies of Jesus Christ. St. Matthew makes Joseph the son of Jacob, Jacob of Matthan, Matthan of Eleazar. St. Luke, on the contrary, says that Joseph was the son of Heli, Heli of Matthat, Matthat of Levi, Levi of Melchi, &c. They will not reconcile the fifty-six progenitors up to Abraham, given to Jesus by Luke, with the forty-two other forefathers up to the same Abraham, given him by Matthew ; and they are quite staggered by Matthew's giving only forty-one generations, while he speaks of forty-two. They start other difficulties about Jesus being the son, not of Joseph, but of Mary. They moreover raise some doubts respecting our Saviour's miracles, quoting St. Augustin, St. Hilary, and others, who have given to the accounts of these miracles a mystic or allegorical sense ;—as, for example, to the fig-tree cursed and blasted for not having borne figs when it was not the fig season ; the devils sent into the bodies of swine in a country where no swine were kept ; the water changed into wine at the end of a feast, when the guests were already too much heated. But all these learned critics are confounded by the faith, which is but the purer for their cavils. The sole design of this article is to follow the historical thread, and give a precise idea of the facts about which there is no dispute.

First, then, Jesus was born under the Mosaic law ;

he was circumcised according to that law; he fulfilled all its precepts; he kept all its feasts; he did not reveal the mystery of his incarnation: he never told the Jews he was born of a virgin: he received John's blessing in the waters of the Jordan, a ceremony to which various of the Jews submitted; but he never baptised any one: he never spoke of the seven sacraments: he instituted no ecclesiastical hierarchy during his life. He concealed from his contemporaries that he was the Son of God, begotten from all eternity, consubstantial with his Father; and that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. He did not say that his person was composed of two natures and two wills. He left these mysteries to be announced to men in the course of time, by those who were to be enlightened by the Holy Ghost. So long as he lived, he departed in nothing from the law of his fathers. In the eyes of men he was no more than a just man, pleasing to God, persecuted by the envious, and condemned to death by prejudiced magistrates. He left his holy church, established by him, to do all the rest.

Let us consider the state of religion in the Roman empire at that period. Mysteries and expiations were in credit almost throughout the earth. The emperors, the great, and the philosophers, had, it is true, no faith in these mysteries; but the people, who, in religious matters, give the law to the great, imposed on them the necessity of conforming in appearance to their worship. To succeed in chaining the multitude, you must seem to wear the same fetters. Cicero, himself, was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. The knowledge of one only God was the principal tenet inculcated in these mysteries and magnificent festivals. It is undeniable, that the prayers and hymns handed down to us as belonging to these mysteries, are the most pious and most admirable of the relics of paganism.

The Christians, who likewise adored one only God, had thereby greater facility in converting some of the Gentiles. Some of the philosophers of Plato's sect

became Christians; hence, in the three first centuries, the fathers of the church were all Platonists.

The inconsiderate zeal of some of them in no way detracts from the fundamental truths. St. Justin, one of the primitive fathers, has been reproached with having said, in his commentary on Isaiah, that the saints should enjoy, during a reign of a thousand years upon earth, every sensual pleasure. He has been charged with criminality in saying, in his Apology for Christianity, that God, having made the earth, left it in the care of the angels, who, having fallen in love with the women, begot children, which are the devils.

Lactantius, with other fathers, has been condemned for having supposed oracles of the sibyls. He asserted that the sibyl Erythrea made four Greek lines, which, rendered literally, are—

“ With five loaves and two fishes
He shall feed five thousand men in the desert;
And, gathering up the fragments that remain,
With them he shall fill twelve baskets.”

The primitive Christians have been reproached with inventing some acrostic verses of the name JESUS CHRIST, and attributing them to an ancient sibyl. They have also been reproached with forging letters from Jesus Christ to the king of Edessa, dated at a time when there was no king at Edessa;—with having forged letters of Mary, letters of Seneca to Paul, false gospels, false miracles, and a thousand other impostures.

We have, moreover, the history or gospel of the nativity and marriage of the Virgin Mary; wherein we are told, that she was brought to the temple at three years old, and walked up the steps by herself. It is related that a dove came down from heaven, to give notice that it was Joseph who was to espouse Mary. We have the proto-gospel of James, brother of Jesus by Joseph's first wife. It is there said, that when Joseph complained of Mary's having become pregnant in his absence, the priests made each of them drink the water of jealousy, and they were both declared innocent.

We have the gospel of the Infancy, attributed to St.

Thomas. According to this gospel, Jesus, at five years old, amused himself, like other children of the same age, with moulding clay, and making it, amongst other things, into the form of little birds. He was chid for this; on which he gave life to the birds, and they flew away. Another time, a little boy having beaten him, was struck dead on the spot. We have also another gospel of the Infancy, in Arabic, which is much more serious.

We have a gospel of Nicodemus. This one seems more worthy of attention; for we find in it the names of those who accused Jesus before Pilate. They were the principal men of the synagogue—Ananias, Caïphas, Sommas, Datam, Gamaliel, Judah, Nephtholim. In this history there are some things which it is easy to reconcile with the received gospels, and others which are not elsewhere to be found. We here find, that the woman cured of a flux was called Veronica. We also find all that Jesus did in hell when he descended thither.

Then we have the two letters supposed to have been written by Pilate to Tiberius, concerning the execution of Jesus: but their bad Latin plainly shows that they are spurious.

To such a length was this false zeal carried, that various letters were circulated, attributed to Jesus Christ. The letter is still preserved, which he is said to have written to Abgarus, king of Edessa: but as already remarked, there had, at that time, ceased to be a king of Edessa.

Fifty gospels were fabricated, and were afterwards declared apocryphal. St. Luke himself tells us, that many persons had composed gospels. It has been believed that there was one called the Eternal Gospel, concerning which it is said in the Apocalypse, chap. xiv. "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel." In the thirteenth century, the cordeliers, abusing these words, composed an "eternal gospel," by which the reign of the Holy Ghost was to be substituted for that of Jesus Christ.

But never, in the early ages of the church, did any book appear with this title.

Letters of the Virgin were likewise invented, written to Ignatius the martyr, to the people of Messina, and to others.

Abdias, who immediately succeeded the apostles, wrote their history, with which he mixed up such absurd fables, that in time these histories became wholly discredited, although they had at first a great reputation. To Abdias we are indebted for the account of the contest between St. Peter and Simon the magician. There was at Rome, in reality, a very skilful mechanic, named Simon, who not only made things fly across the stage, as we still see done, but moreover revived in his own person the prodigy attributed to Dædalus. He made himself wings; he flew; and, like Icarus, he fell. So say Pliny and Suetonius.

Abdias, who was in Asia, and wrote in Hebrew, tells us that Peter and Simon met at Rome in the reign of Nero. A young man, nearly related to the emperor, died; and the whole court begged that Simon would raise him to life. St. Peter presented himself to perform the same operation. Simon employed all the powers of his art; and he seemed to have succeeded, for the dead man moved his head. "This is not enough," cries Peter; "the dead man must speak: let Simon leave the bed-side, and we shall see whether the young man is alive." Simon went aside, and the deceased no longer stirred, but Peter brought him to life with a single word.

Simon went and complained to the emperor that a miserable Galilean had taken upon himself to work greater wonders than he. Simon was confronted with Peter, and they made a trial of skill. "Tell me," said Simon to Peter, "what I am thinking of." "If," returned Peter, "the emperor will give me a barley loaf, thou shalt find whether or not I know what thou hast in thy heart." A loaf was given him: Simon immediately caused two large dogs to appear, and they wanted to devour it. Peter threw them the loaf; and while

they were eating it, he said—"Well : did I not know thy thoughts ? thou wouldst have had thy dogs devour me."

After this first sitting, it was proposed that Simon and Peter should make a flying-match, and try which could raise himself highest in the air. Simon tried first: Peter made the sign of the cross, and down came Simon and broke his legs. This story was imitated from that which we find in the "*Sepher toldos Jeschut*," where it is said that Jesus himself flew, and that Judas, who would have done the same, fell headlong.

Nero, vexed that Peter had broken his favourite Simon's legs, had him crucified with his head downwards. Hence the notion of St. Peter's residence at Rome, the manner of his execution, and his sepulchre.

The same Abdias established the belief that St. Thomas went and preached Christianity in India to king Gondafer, and that he went thither as an architect.

The number of books of this sort, written in the early ages of Christianity, is prodigious.

St. Jerome, and even St. Augustin, tell us, that the letters of Seneca and St. Paul are quite authentic. In the first of these letters, Seneca hopes his brother Paul is well—"Bene te valere, frater, cupio." Paul does not write quite so good Latin as Seneca:—"I received your letters yesterday," says he, "with joy."—"Litteras tuas hilaris accepi."—"And I would have answered them immediately, had I had the presence of the young man whom I would have sent with them."—"Si præsentiam juvenis habuissem." Unfortunately, these letters, in which one would look for instruction, are nothing more than compliments.

All these falsehoods, forged by ill-informed and mistakenly-zealous Christians, were in no degree prejudicial to the truth of Christianity; they obstructed not its progress; on the contrary, they show us that the Christian society was daily increasing, and that each member was desirous of hastening its growth.

The Acts of the Apostles do not tell us that the

apostles agreed on a symbol. Indeed, if they had put together the symbol (the creed, as we now call it) St. Luke could not, in his history, have omitted this essential basis of the Christian religion. The substance of the creed is scattered through the gospels; but the articles were not collected until long after.

In short, our creed is, indisputably, the belief of the Apostles; but it was not written by them. Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, is the first who mentions it; and a homily attributed to St. Augustin is the first record of the supposed way in which this creed was made,—Peter saying, when they were assembled, “I believe in God the Father Almighty”—Andrew, “and in Jesus Christ”—James, “who was conceived by the Holy Ghost;” and so of the rest.

This formula was called, in Greek *symbolos*, and in Latin *collatio*. Only it must be observed, that the Greek version has it—“I believe in God the Father, maker of heaven and earth.”—In the Latin, *maker*, *former*, is rendered by “*creatorem*.” But afterwards, in translating the symbol of the first council of Nice, it was rendered by “*factorem*.”

Constantine assembled at Nice, opposite to Constantinople, the first œcumenical council, over which Ozius presided. The great question touching the divinity of Jesus Christ, which so much agitated the church, was there decided. One party held the opinion of Origen; who says, in his sixth chapter against Celsus—“We offer our prayers to God through Christ, who holds the middle place between nations created and uncreated; who leads us to the grace of his father, and presents our prayers to the great God, in quality of our high priest.” These disputants also rest upon many passages of St. Paul, some of which they quote. They depend particularly upon these words of Jesus Christ—“My father is greater than I;”—and they regard Jesus as the first-born of the creation; as a pure emanation of the Supreme Being, but not precisely as God.

The other side, who were orthodox, produced passages more conformable to the eternal divinity of Jesus; as, for example, the following—"My Father and I are one:" words which their opponents interpret as signifying—"My Father and I have the same object; the same intention: I have no other will than that of my Father." Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and after him Athanasius, were at the head of the orthodox; and Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, with seventeen other bishops, the priest Arius, and many more priests, led the party opposed to them. The quarrel was at first exceedingly bitter, as St. Alexander treated his opponents as so many antichrists.

At last, after much disputation, the Holy Ghost decided in the council, by the mouths of two hundred and ninety-nine bishops, against eighteen, as follows:—"Jesus is the only son of God; begotten of the Father; light of light; very God of very God; of one substance with the Father. We believe also in the Holy Ghost," &c. &c. Such was the decision of the council; and we perceive, by this fact, how the bishops carried it over the simple priests. Two thousand persons of the latter class were of the opinion of Arius, according to the account of two patriarchs of Alexandria, who have written the annals of Alexandria in Arabic. Arius was exiled by Constantine, as was Athanasius soon after, when Arius was recalled to Constantinople. Upon this event, St. Macarius prayed so vehemently to God to terminate the life of Arius, before he could enter the cathedral, that God heard his prayer,—Arius dying in his way to church, in 330. The emperor Constantine ended his life in 337. He placed his will in the hands of an Arian priest, and died in the arms of the Arian leader Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, not receiving baptism until on his death-bed, and leaving a triumphant, but divided church.

The partisans of Athanasius and of Eusebius carried on a cruel war; and what is called Arianism was for a long time established in all the provinces of the empire.

Julian the philosopher, surnamed the Apostate, wished to stifle their divisions, but could not succeed.

The second general council was held at Constantinople in 318. It was there laid down, that the council of Nice had not decided quite correctly in regard to the Holy Ghost; and it added to the Nicene creed, that "the Holy Ghost was the giver of life, and proceeded from the Father, and with the Father and Son is to be worshipped and glorified."

It was not until towards the ninth century that the Latin church decreed, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son.

In the year 431, the third council-general, held at Ephesus, decided that Jesus had "two natures and one person." Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who maintained that the Virgin Mary should be entitled Mother of Christ, was called *Judas* by the council; and the "two natures" were again confirmed by the council of Chalcedon.

I pass lightly over the following centuries, which are sufficiently known. Unhappily, all these disputes led to wars, and the church was uniformly obliged to combat. God, in order to exercise the patience of the faithful, also allowed, that the Greek and Latin churches should finally separate, in the ninth century. He likewise permitted, in the east, no less than twenty-nine horrible schisms with the see of Rome.

If there be about six hundred millions of men upon earth, as certain learned persons pretend, the holy Roman catholic church possesses scarcely sixteen millions of them—about a twenty-sixth part of the inhabitants of the known world.*

CHRISTMAS.

EVERY one knows that this is the feast of the nativity of Jesus. The most ancient feast kept in the

* See sketch of the history of the Christian Church, under the article CHURCH.

church, after those of Easter and Pentecost, was that of the baptism of Jesus. There were only these three feasts, until St. Chrysostom delivered his homily on Pentecost. We here make no account of the feasts of the martyrs, which were of a very inferior order. That of the baptism of Jesus was named the Epiphany, in imitation of the Greeks, who gave that name to the feasts which they held to commemorate the appearance or manifestation of the gods upon earth,—since it was not until after his baptism that Jesus began to preach the gospel.

We know not whether, about the end of the fourth century, this feast was solemnized in the isle of Cyprus, on the 6th of November; but St. Epiphanius maintained that Jesus was born on that day.* St. Clement of Alexandria tells us,† that the Basilidians held this feast on the 15th of the month *tybi*, while others held it on the 11th of the same month; that is, it was kept by some on the 10th of January, and by others on the 6th: the latter opinion is the one now adopted. As for the nativity, as neither the day nor the month nor the year of it was known, it was not celebrated.

According to the remarks which we find appended to the works of the same father, they who had been the most curious in their researches concerning the day on which Jesus was born, said, some that it was on the 25th of the Egyptian month *pachon*, answering to the 20th of May; and others, that it was the 24th or 25th of *pharmuthi*, corresponding to the 19th and 20th of April. The learned M. de Beausobre says, that these latter were the days of St. Valentine.‡ Be this as it may, Egypt and the east kept the feast of the birth of Jesus on the 6th of January, the same day as that of his baptism; without its being known (at least, with certainty) when, or for what reason, this custom commenced.

The opinion and practice of the western nations

* Heresy, 51, No. 17 and 19.

† Strom. lib. i. p. 340.

‡ Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 691.

were quite different from those of the east. The centuriators of Magdeburg repeat a passage in Theophilus of Cesarea, which makes the churches of Gaul say :— “ Since the birth of Christ is celebrated on the 25th of December, on whatever day of the week it may fall, so also should the resurrection of Jesus be celebrated on the 25th of March, whatever day of the week it may be, the Lord having risen again on that day.” *

If this be true, it must be acknowledged that the bishops of Gaul were very prudent and very reasonable. Being persuaded, as all the ancients were, that Jesus had been crucified on the 23d of March, and had risen again on the 25th, they commemorated his death on the 23d, and his resurrection on the 25th, without paying any regard to the observance of the full moon, which was originally a Jewish ceremony, and without confining themselves to the Sunday. Had the church imitated them, she would have avoided the long and scandalous disputes which went near to separate the east from the west, and were not terminated until the first council of Nice.

Some of the learned conjecture, that the Romans chose the winter solstice for holding the birth of Jesus, because the sun then begins again to approach our hemisphere. In Julius Cæsar's time, the civil and political solstice was fixed for the 25th of December. This, at Rome, was a festival in celebration of the returning sun. Pliny tells us, † that it was called *bruma*; and, like Servius, ‡ places it on the 8th of the calends of January. This association might have some connection with the choice of the day, but it was not the origin of it. A passage in Josephus (evidently forged) three or four errors of the ancients, and a very mystical explanation of a saying of St. John the Baptist, determined this choice, as Joseph Scaliger is about to inform us.

* Cent. 2, coll. 118.

† Nat. Hist. book xviii. chap. 25.

‡ On line 720, of the second book of the *Æneis*.

It pleased the ancients (says that learned critic*) to suppose—first, that Zacharias was sovereign sacrificer when Jesus was born. But nothing is more untrue; it is no longer believed by any one, at least among those of any information.

Secondly—the ancients supposed that Zacharias was in the holy of holies, offering incense, when the angel appeared to him, and announced the birth of a son.

Thirdly—as the sovereign sacrificer entered the temple but once a year, on the day of expiation, which was the 10th of the Jewish month *rifri*, partly answering to the month of September, the ancients supposed that it was the 27th; and that *afterwards*, on the 23d or 24th, Zacharias having returned home after the feast, Elizabeth, his wife, conceived John the Baptist; whence the feast of the conception of that saint was fixed for those days. As women ordinarily go with child for two hundred and seventy or two hundred and seventy-four days, it followed that the nativity of John was fixed for the 24th of June. Such was the origin of St. John's day, and of Christmas-day, which was regulated by it.

Fourthly—it was supposed that there were six entire months between the conception of John the Baptist and that of Jesus; although the angel simply tells Mary, that Elizabeth was then in the sixth month of her pregnancy:† consequently, the conception of Jesus was fixed for the 25th of March; and from these various suppositions it was concluded, that Jesus must have been born on the 25th of December, precisely nine months after his conception.

There are many wonderful things in these arrangements. It is not one of the least worthy of admiration, that the four cardinal points of the year—the equinoxes and the solstices, as they were then fixed,—were marked by the conceptions and births of John the Baptist and Jesus. But it is yet more marvellous and worthy of

* Can. Ifagog. book iii. p. 305.

† Luke, chap. i. v. 36.

remark that the solstice when Jesus was born, is that at which the days begin to increase; while that on which John the Baptist came into the world, was the period at which they begin to shorten. The holy fore-runner had intimated this in a very mystical manner, when speaking of Jesus, in these words—"He must grow, and I must become less."

Prudentius alludes to this in a hymn on the nativity of our Lord.

Yet St. Leo says, that in his time there were persons at Rome who said that the feast was venerable, not so much on account of the birth of Jesus as of the return, and, as they expressed it, the new birth of the sun. St. Epiphanius assures us, it was fully established that Jesus was born on the 6th of January: but St. Clement of Alexandria, much more ancient and more learned than he, fixes the birth on the 18th of November, of the twenty-eighth year of Augustus. This is deduced, according to the jesuit Petau's remark on St. Epiphanius, from these words of St. Clement—"The whole time from the birth of Jesus Christ to the death of Commodus, was a hundred and ninety-four years, one month, and thirteen days."† Now Commodus died, according to Petau, on the last of December, in the year 192 of our era: therefore, according to St. Clement, Jesus was born one month and thirteen days before the last of December; consequently, on the 18th of November, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Augustus. Concerning which, it must be observed, that St. Clement dates the reign of Augustus only from the death of Antony and the capture of Alexandria, because it was not until then that Augustus was left sole master of the empire. Thus we are no more assured of the year of this birth than we are of the month or the day. Though St. Luke declares,§ "that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first," he clearly shows that

* Sermon 21, book ii. p. 148.

† Strom. tom. i. p. 340.

† Heresy 51, No. 29.

§ Chap. i. v. 3.

he did not know the exact age of Jesus, when he says that, when baptised, he "began to be about thirty years old."* Indeed this evangelist makes Jesus born in the year of the numbering which, according to him, was made by Cyrenus or Cyrenius, governor of Syria;† while, according to Tertullian, it was made by Sentius Saturninus.‡ But Saturninus had quitted the province in the last year of Herod, and, as Tacitus informs us, was succeeded by Quintilius Varus:§ and Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, or Quirinius, of whom it would seem St. Luke means to speak, did not succeed Quintilius Varus until about ten years after Herod's death, when Archelaüs, king of Judea, was banished by Augustus, as Josephus tells us in his Jewish Antiquities.||

It is true, that Tertullian,¶ and St. Justin before him,** referred the pagans and the heretics of their time to the public archives containing the registers of this pretended numbering: but Tertullian likewise referred to the public archives for the account of the darkness at noon-day, at the time of the passion of Jesus, as will be seen in the article ECLIPSE; where we have remarked the want of exactness in these two fathers, and in similar authorities, in our observations on a statue which St. Justin (who assures us that he saw it at Rome) says, was dedicated to Simon the magician, but which was in reality dedicated to a god of the ancient Sabines.

These uncertainties, however, will excite no astonishment, when it is recollected that Jesus was unknown to his disciples until he had received baptism from John. It is expressly "beginning with the baptism of Jesus," that Peter will have the successor of Judas testify concerning Jesus; and, according to the same Acts,†† Peter thereby understands the whole time that Jesus had lived with them.

* Chap. iii. v. 21, 23.

† Chap. ii. v. 2.

‡ Book iv. chap. xix. against Marcion.

§ Lib. v. sec. 9.

|| Book xvi. ch. xiii.; and Book xvii. ch. xiii. xiv.

¶ Book iv. chap. vii. against Marcion.

** II. Apol.

†† Chap. i. v. 21.

CHRONOLOGY.

THE world has long disputed about ancient chronology; but, has there ever been any?

Every considerable people must necessarily possess and preserve authentic, well-attested registers. But how few people were acquainted with the art of writing? and, among the small number of men who cultivated this very rare art, are any to be found who took the trouble to mark two dates with exactness?

We have, indeed, in very recent times, the astronomical observations of the Chinese and the Chaldeans. They only go back about two thousand years, more or less, beyond our era. But, when the early annals of a nation confine themselves simply to communicating the information that there was an eclipse in the reign of a certain prince, we learn, certainly, that such a prince existed, but not what he performed.

Moreover, the Chinese reckon the year in which an emperor dies as still constituting a part of his reign, until the end of it; even though he should die the first day of the year, his successor dates the year following his death with the name of his predecessor. It is not possible to show more respect for ancestors; nor is it possible to compute time in a manner more injudicious in comparison with modern nations.

We may add, that the Chinese do not commence their sexagenary cycle, into which they have introduced arrangement, till the reign of the emperor Iao, two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven years before our vulgar era. Profound obscurity hangs over the whole period of time which precedes that epoch.

Men are generally contented with an approximation,—with the “pretty nearly” in every case. For example, before the invention of watches, people could learn the time of day or night only pretty nearly. In building, the stones were pretty nearly hewn to a certain shape, the timber pretty nearly squared, and the limbs of the statue pretty nearly chipped to a proper finish; a man was only pretty nearly acquainted with his nearest

neighbours; and, notwithstanding the perfection we have ourselves attained, such is the state of things at present throughout the greater part of the world.

Let us not then be astonished that there is nowhere to be found a correct ancient chronology. That which we have of the Chinese is of considerable value, when compared with chronological labours of other nations.

We have none of the Indians, nor of the Persians, and scarcely any of the ancient Egyptians. All our systems formed on the history of these people are as contradictory as our systems of metaphysics.

The Greek Olympiads do not commence till seven hundred and twenty-eight years before our era of reckoning. Until we arrive at them, we perceive only a few torches to lighten the darkness, such as the era of Nabonassar, the war between Lacedemon and Messene: even those epochs themselves are subjects of dispute.

Livy took care not to state in what year Romulus began his pretended reign. The Romans, who well knew the uncertainty of that epoch, would have ridiculed him had he undertaken to decide it.

It is proved, that the duration of two hundred and forty years ascribed to the seven first kings of Rome, is a very false calculation.*

The four first centuries of Rome are absolutely destitute of chronology.

If four centuries of the most memorable empire the world ever saw, comprise only an undigested mass of events, mixed up with fables, and almost without a date, what must be the case with small nations, shut up in an obscure corner of the earth, who have never made any figure in the world, notwithstanding all their attempts to compensate, by prodigy and imposture, for their deficiency in real power and cultivation?

Of the Vanity of Systems, particularly in Chronology.

The abbé Condillac performed a most important service to the human mind, when he displayed the

* See Hooke's Roman History, on this subject.

false points of all systems. If we may ever hope that we shall one day find the road to truth, it can only be after we have detected all those which lead to error. It is at least a consolation to be at rest, to be no longer seeking, when we perceive that so many philosophers have sought in vain.

Chronology is a collection of bladders of wind. All who thought to pass over it as solid ground have been immersed. We have, at the present time, twenty-four systems, not one of which is true.

The Babylonians said, "We reckon four hundred and seventy-three thousand years of astronomical observations." A Parisian, addressing him, says, "Your account is correct; your years consisted each of a solar day; they amount to twelve hundred and ninety-seven of ours, from the time of Atlas, the great astronomer, king of Africa, to the arrival of Alexander at Babylon."

But, whatever our Parisian may say, no people in the world have ever confounded a day with a year; and the people of Babylon still less than any other. This Parisian stranger should have contented himself with merely observing to the Chaldeans, "You are exaggerators, and our ancestors were ignorant. Nations are exposed to too many revolutions to permit their keeping a series of four thousand seven hundred and thirty-six centuries of astronomical calculations. And, with respect to Atlas, king of the Moors, no one knows at what time he lived. Pythagoras might pretend to have been a cock, just as reasonably as you may boast of such a series of observations."

The great point of ridicule in all fantastic chronologies is, the arrangement of all the great events of a man's life in precise order of time, without ascertaining that the man himself ever existed.

Langlet repeats after others, in his chronological compilation of universal history, that precisely in the time of Abraham, and six years after the death of Sarah, who was little known to the Greeks, Jupiter, at the age of sixty-two, began to reign in Thessaly; that his reign lasted sixty years; that he married his sister

Juno ; that he was obliged to cede the maritime coasts to his brother Neptune ; and that the Titans made war against him. But was there ever a Jupiter ? It never occurred to him that with this question he should have begun.

CHURCH.

Summary of the History of the Christian Church.

WE shall not extend our views into the depths of theology. God preserve us from such presumption. Humble faith alone is enough for us. We never assume any other part than that of mere historians.

In the years which immediately followed Jesus Christ, who was at once God and man, there existed among the Hebrews nine religious schools or societies,—Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenians, Judaites, Therapeutæ, Recabites, Herodians, the disciples of John, and the disciples of Jesus, named the “brethren,”—the “Galileans,”—the “believers,” who did not assume the name of Christians till about the sixtieth year of our era, at Antioch ; being directed to its adoption by God himself, in ways unknown to men.

The Pharisees believed in the metempsychosis. The Sadducees denied the immortality of the soul, and the existence of spirits, yet believed in the Pentateuch.

Pliny, the naturalist,* (relying, evidently, on the authority of Flavius Josephus) calls the Essenians “gens æterna in qua nemo nascitur ;”—“a perpetual family, in which no one is ever born ;” because the Essenians very rarely married. The description has been since applied to our monks.

It is difficult to decide whether the Essenians or the Judaites are spoken of by Josephus in the following passage :—“They despise the evils of the world ; their constancy enables them to triumph over torments ; in an honourable cause they prefer death to life. They have undergone fire and sword, and submitted to having their very bones crushed, rather than utter a syllable against their legislator, or eat forbidden food.”†

* Book i. chap. xvii.

† Hist. chap. xii.

It would seem, from the words of Josephus, that the above portrait applies to the Judaïtes, and not to the Essenians. "Judas was the author of a new sect, completely different from the other three," that is, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenians. "They are," he goes on to say, "Jews by nation, they live in harmony with each other, and consider pleasure to be a vice." The natural meaning of this language would induce us to think that he is speaking of the Judaïtes.

However that may be, these Judaïtes were known before the disciples of Christ began to possess consideration and consequence in the world. Some weak people have supposed them to be heretics, who adored Judas Iscariot.

The Therapeutæ were a society different from the Essenians and the Judaïtes. They resembled the Gymnosophists and Brahmins of India. "They possess," says Philo, "a principle of divine love, which excites in them an enthusiasm like that of the Bacchantes and the Corybantes, and which forms them to that state of contemplation to which they aspire. This sect originated in Alexandria, which was entirely filled with Jews, and prevailed greatly throughout Egypt."

The Recabites still continued as a sect. They vowed never to drink wine; and it is, possibly, from their example, that Mahomet forbade that liquor to his followers.

The Herodians regarded Herod, the first of that name, as a Messiah, a messenger from God, who had rebuilt the temple. It is clear that the Jews at Rome celebrated a festival in honor of him, in the reign of Nero, as appears from the lines of Persius—"Herodis venere dies," &c. (Sat. v. 180.)

"King Herod's feast, when each Judean vile
Trims up his lamp with tallow or with oil."

The disciples of John the Baptist had spread themselves a little in Egypt, but principally in Syria, Arabia, and towards the Persian Gulph. They are recognised, at the present day, under the name of the Christians of St. John. There were some also in Asia

Minor. It is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xix.) that Paul met with many of them at Ephesus. "Have you received," he asked them, "the holy spirit?" They answered him, "We have not heard even that there is a holy spirit." "What baptism, then," says he, "have you received?" They answered him, "The baptism of John."

In the mean time, the true Christians, as is well known, were laying the foundation of the only true religion.

He who contributed most to strengthen this rising society was Paul, who had himself persecuted it with the greatest violence. He was born at Tarsus in Cilicia,* and was educated under one of the most celebrated professors among the Pharisees, Gamaliel, a disciple of Hillel. The Jews pretend that he quarrelled with Gamaliel, who refused to let him have his daughter in marriage. Some traces of this anecdote are to be found in the sequel to the Acts of St. Thecla. These Acts relate that he had a large forehead, a bald head, united eyebrows, an aquiline nose, a short and clumsy figure, and crooked legs. Lucian, in his dialogue "Philopatres," seems to give a very similar portrait of him. It has been doubted whether he was a Roman citizen, for at that time the title was not given to any Jew; they had been expelled from Rome by Tiberius; and Tarsus did not become a Roman colony till nearly a hundred years afterwards, under Caracalla; as Cellarius remarks in his Geography (book iii.) and Grotius in his Commentary on the Acts, to whom alone we need refer.

God, who came down upon earth to be an example in it of humility and poverty, gave to his church the most feeble infancy, and conducted it in a state of humiliation similar to that in which he had himself chosen to be born. All the first believers were obscure persons. They all laboured with their hands. The apostle St. Paul himself acknowledges that he gained his livelihood by making tents. St. Peter raised from the

* St. Jerome says, that he was from Giscala in Galilee.

dead Dorcas, a sempstress, who made clothes for the "brethren." The assembly of believers met at Joppa, at the house of a tanner called Simon, as appears from the ninth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

The believers spread themselves secretly in Greece; and some of them went from Greece to Rome, among the Jews, who were permitted by the Romans to have a synagogue. They did not, at first, separate themselves from the Jews. They practised circumcision; and, as we have elsewhere remarked, the first fifteen obscure bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised, or at least were all of the Jewish nation.

When the apostle Paul took with him Timothy, who was the son of a heathen father, he circumcised him himself, in the small city of Lystra. But Titus, his other disciple, could not be induced to submit to circumcision. The brethren, or the disciples of Jesus, continued united with the Jews until the time when St. Paul experienced a persecution at Jerusalem on account of his having introduced strangers into the temple. He was accused by the Jews of endeavouring to destroy the law of Moses by that of Jesus Christ. It was with a view to his clearing himself from this accusation that the apostle St. James proposed to the apostle Paul, that he should shave his head, and go and purify himself in the temple, with four Jews, who had made a vow of being shaved. "Take them with you," says James to him (chap. xxi. Acts of the Apostles) purify yourself with them, and let the whole world know that what has been reported concerning you is false, and that you continue to obey the law of Moses." Thus, then, Paul, who had been at first the most summary persecutor of the holy society established by Jesus,—Paul, who afterwards endeavoured to govern that rising society,—Paul the Christian, judaises, "that the world may know that he is calumniated when he is charged with no longer following the law of Moses."

St. Paul was equally charged with impiety and heresy, and the prosecution against him lasted a long time; but it is perfectly clear, from the nature of the charges, that he had travelled to Jerusalem, in order to fulfil the rights of Judaism.

He addressed to Faustus these words (Acts, xxv.) "I have neither offended against the Jewish law, nor against the temple."

The apostles announced Jesus Christ as a just man wickedly persecuted, a prophet of God, a son of God, sent to the Jews for the reformation of manners.

"Circumcision," says the apostle Paul, "is good, if you observe the law; but if you violate the law, your circumcision becomes uncircumcision. If an uncircumcised person keep the law, he will be as if circumcised. The true Jew is one that is so inwardly."

When this apostle speaks of Jesus Christ in his epistles, he does not reveal the ineffable mystery of his consubstantiality with God. "We are delivered by him," says he (Romans, chap. v.) "from the wrath of God. The gift of God hath been shed upon us by the grace bestowed on one man, who is Jesus Christ. . . . Death reigned through the sin of one man; the just shall reign in life by one man, who is Jesus Christ."

And, in the eighth chapter—"We are heirs of God, and joint-heirs of Christ;" and in the sixteenth chapter—"To God, who is the only wise, be honour and glory, through Jesus Christ. . . . You are Jesus Christ's, and Jesus Christ is God's (1 Cor. chap. iii.)

And, in 1 Cor. xv. 27—"Every thing is made subject to him, undoubtedly excepting God, who made all things subject to him."

Some difficulty has been found in explaining the following part of the epistle of the Philippians—"Do nothing through vain glory. Let each humbly think others better than himself. Be of the same mind with Jesus Christ, *who, being in the likeness of God, assumed not to equal himself to God.*"* This passage appears exceedingly well investigated and elucidated in a letter, still extant, of the churches of Vienna and Lyons, written in the year 117, and which

* Our English version gives the foregoing passage—"who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God."—See Epistle to Philippians, c. ii. to 6th verse—a directly contrary translation. Voltaire, the context, the fathers, and the ancient letter, *versus* the English translation.—T.

is a valuable monument of antiquity. In this letter the modesty of some believers is praised. "They did not wish," says the letter, "to assume the lofty title of martyrs, in consequence of certain tribulations; after the example of Jesus Christ, who, being in the likeness of God, did not assume the quality of being equal to God." Origen, also, in his commentary on John, says—"The greatness of Jesus shines out more splendidly, in consequence of his self-humiliation, than if he had assumed equality with God." In fact, the opposite interpretation would be a solecism. What sense would there be in this exhortation—"Think others superior to yourselves; imitate Jesus, who did not think it an *assumption* to be equal to God?" It would be an obvious contradiction; it would be putting an example of full pretension for an example of modesty: it would be an offence against logic.

Thus did the wisdom of the apostles establish the rising church. That wisdom did not change its character in consequence of the dispute which took place between the apostles Peter, James, and John, on one side, and Paul on the other. This contest occurred at Antioch. The apostle Peter, formerly Cephas, or Simon Barjonas, ate with the converted gentiles, and among them did not observe the ceremonies of the law and the distinction of meats. He and Barnabas, and the other disciples, ate indifferently of pork, of animals which had been strangled, or which had cloven feet, or which did not chew the cud; but many Jewish Christians having arrived, St. Peter joined with them in abstinence from forbidden meats, and in the ceremonies of the Mosaic law.

This conduct appeared very prudent: he wished to avoid giving offence to the Jewish Christians, his companions; but St. Paul attacked him on the subject with considerable severity. "I withstood him," says he, "to his face, because he was blameable." (Gal. chap. ii.)

This quarrel appears the most extraordinary on the part of St. Paul. Having been at first a persecutor,

he might have been expected to have acted with moderation; especially as he had himself gone to Jerusalem to sacrifice in the temple, had circumcised his disciple Timothy, and strictly complied with the Jewish rites, for which very compliance he now reproached Cephas. St. Jerome imagines that this quarrel between Paul and Cephas was a pretended one. He says, in his first homily, (vol. iii.) that they acted like two advocates who work themselves up to an appearance of great zeal and exasperation against each other, to gain credit with their respective clients. He says that Peter (Cephas) being appointed to preach to the Jews, and Paul to the Gentiles, they assumed the appearance of quarrelling, Paul to gain the Gentiles, and Peter to gain the Jews. But St. Augustine is by no means of the same opinion. "I grieve," says he, in his epistle to Jerome, "that so great a man should be the patron of a lie"—(*patronum mendacii.*)

This dispute between St. Jerome and St. Augustine ought not to diminish our veneration for them, and still less for St. Paul and St. Peter.

As to what remains, if Peter was destined for the Jews, who were after their conversion likely to judaize, and Paul for strangers, it appears probable that Peter never went to Rome. The Acts of the Apostles make no mention of Peter's journey to Italy.

However that may be, it was about the sixtieth year of our era that Christians began to separate from the Jewish communion; and it was this which drew upon them so many quarrels and persecutions from the various synagogues of Rome, Greece, Egypt, and Asia. They were accused of impiety and atheism by their Jewish brethren, who excommunicated them in their synagogues three times every sabbath-day. But in the midst of their persecutions God always supported them.

By degrees many churches were formed, and the separation between Jews and Christians was complete before the close of the first century. This separation was unknown by the Roman government. Neither the senate nor the emperors of Rome interested themselves in those quarrels of a small flock of mankind,

which God had hitherto guided in obscurity, and which he exalted by insensible gradations.

Christianity became established in Greece and at Alexandria. The Christians had there to contend with a new set of Jews, who, in consequence of intercourse with the Greeks, were become philosophers. This was the sect of *gnosis*, or *gnostics*. Among them were some of the new converts to Christianity. All these sects, at that time, enjoyed complete liberty to dogmatise, discourse, and write, whenever the Jewish courtiers, settled at Rome and Alexandria, did not bring any charge against them before the magistrates. But, under Domitian, Christianity began to give some umbrage to the government.

The zeal of some Christians, which was not according to knowledge, did not prevent the church from making that progress which God destined from the beginning. The Christians, at first, celebrated their mysteries in sequestered houses, and in caves, and during night. Hence, according to Minutius Felix, the title given them of *lucifugaces*. Philo calls them gesséens. The names most frequently applied to them by the heathens, during the first four centuries, were "Galileans" and "Nazareens;" but that of "Christians" has prevailed above all the others.

Neither the hierarchy, nor the services of the church, were established all at once: the apostolic times were different from those which followed.

The mass now celebrated at matins, was the supper performed in the evening: these usages changed in proportion as the church strengthened. A more numerous society required more regulations, and the prudence of the pastors accommodated itself to times and places.

St. Jerome and Eusebius relate, that when the churches received a regular form, five different orders might be soon perceived to exist in them—superintendents, *episcopoi*; whence originate the bishops—elders of the society, *presbyteroi*, priests—*diaconoi*, servants or deacons—*pistoi*, believers, the initiated; that is, the baptised, who participated in the suppers of the agape, or love-feasts—the *catechumens*, who

were awaiting baptism—and the *energumens*, who awaited their being exorcised of demons.—In these five orders no one had garments different from the others, no one was bound to celibacy: witness Tertullian's book, dedicated to his wife, and witness also the example of the apostles. No paintings or sculptures were to be found in their assemblies, during the first two centuries; no altars; and, most certainly, no tapers, incense, and lustral water. The Christians carefully concealed their books from the Gentiles: they entrusted them only to the initiated. Even the catechumens were not permitted to recite the Lord's Prayer.

Of the Power of expelling Devils, given to the Church.

That which most distinguished the Christians, and which has continued nearly to our own times, was the power of expelling devils with the sign of the cross. Origen, in his treatise against Celsus, declares (at number 133,) that Antinous, who had been deified by the emperor Adrian, performed miracles in Egypt, by the power of charms and magic; but he says that the devils came out of the bodies of the possessed on the mere utterance of the name of Jesus.

Tertullian goes farther; and from the recesses of Africa, where he resided, he says, in his Apology (chap. xxiii.)—"If your gods do not confess themselves to be devils, in the presence of a true Christian, we give you full liberty to shed that Christian's blood." Can any demonstration be possibly clearer?

In fact, Jesus Christ sent out his apostles to expel demons. The Jews likewise, in his time, had the power of expelling them; for, when Jesus had delivered some possessed persons, and sent the devils into the bodies of a very numerous herd of swine, and had performed many other similar cures, the Pharisees said—"He expels devils through the power of Belzebul." Jesus replied—"By whom do your sons expel them?" It is incontestible that the Jews boasted of this power. They had exorcists and exorcisms. They invoked the name of God, of Jacob, and of Abraham. They put consecrated herbs into the nostrils of the demoniacs.

(Josephus relates a part of these ceremonies.) This power over devils, which the Jews have lost, was transferred to the Christians, who seem likewise to have lost it in their turn.

The power of expelling demons comprehended that of destroying the operations of magic ; for magic has been always prevalent in every nation. All the fathers of the church bear testimony to magic. Saint Justin, in his Apology (book iii.) acknowledges that the souls of the dead are frequently evoked, and thence draws an argument in favour of the immortality of the soul. Lactantius, in the seventh book of his Divine Institutions, says—" that if any one ventured to deny the existence of souls after death, the magician would convince him of it by making them appear." Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian the bishop, all affirm the same. It is true that, at present, all is changed, and that there are now no more magicians than there are demoniacs. But God has the sovereign power of admonishing mankind by prodigies at some particular seasons, and of discontinuing those prodigies at others.

Of the Martyrs of the Church.

When Christians became somewhat numerous, and many arrayed themselves against the worship established in the Roman empire, the magistrates began to exercise severity against them, and the people more particularly persecuted them. The Jews, who possessed particular privileges, and who confined themselves to their synagogues, were not persecuted. They were permitted the free exercise of their religion, as is the case at Rome in the present day. All the different kinds of worship scattered over the empire were tolerated, although the senate did not adopt them.

But the Christians, declaring themselves enemies to every other worship than their own, and more especially so to that of the empire, were often exposed to these cruel trials.

One of the first and most distinguished martyrs was Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who was condemned by

the emperor Trajan himself, at that time in Asia, and sent to Rome by his orders, to be exposed to wild beasts, at a time when other Christians were not persecuted at Rome. It is not precisely known what charges were alleged against him before that emperor, otherwise so renowned for his clemency. St. Ignatius must, necessarily, have had violent enemies. Whatever were the particulars of the case, the history of his martyrdom relates that the name of Jesus Christ was found engraved on his heart in letters of gold; and from this circumstance it was that Christians in some places, assumed the name of Theophores, which Ignatius had given himself.

A letter of his* has been preserved, in which he entreats the bishops and Christians to make no opposition to his martyrdom, whether at the time they might be strong enough to effect his deliverance, or whether any among them might have influence enough to obtain his pardon. Another remarkable circumstance is, that when he was brought to Rome, the Christians of that capital went to visit him; which would clearly prove that the individual was punished, and not the sect.

The persecutions were not continued. Origen, in his third book against Celsus, says—"The Christians who have suffered death on account of their religion, may easily be numbered, for there were only a few of them, and merely at intervals."

God was so mindful of his church, that notwithstanding its enemies, he so ordered circumstances that it held five councils in the first century, sixteen in the second, and thirty in the third; that is, including both secret and tolerated ones. Those assemblies were sometimes forbidden, when the weak prudence of the magistrates feared they might become tumultuous. But few genuine documents of the proceedings before the proconsuls and prætors, who condemned the Christians to death, have been delivered down to us. Such would be the only authorities which would enable us

* Dupin, in his "*Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*," proves that this letter is authentic.

to ascertain the charges brought against them, and the punishments they suffered.

We have a fragment of Dionysius of Alexandria, in which he gives the following extract of a register, or of records, of a proconsul of Egypt, under the emperor Valerian:—"Dionysius, Faustus Maximus, Marcellus, and Cheremon, having been admitted to the audience, the prefect Emilian thus addressed them: "You are sufficiently informed, through the conferences which I have had with you, and all that I have written to you, of the good-will which our princes have entertained towards you. I wish thus to repeat it to you once again. They make the continuance of your safety to depend upon yourselves, and place your destiny in your own hands. They require of you only one thing, which reason demands of every reasonable person, namely, that you adore the Gods who protect their empire, and abandon that different worship, so contrary to sense and nature."

Dionysius replied, "All have not the same gods; and all adore those whom they think to be the true ones."

The prefect Emilian replied: "I see clearly that you ungratefully abuse the goodness which the emperors have shown you. This being the case, you shall no longer remain in this city; and I now order you to be conveyed to Cephro, in the heart of Lybia. Agreeably to the command I have received from our emperors, that shall be the place of your banishment. As to what remains, think not to hold your assemblies there, nor to offer up your prayers in what you call cemeteries. This is positively forbidden. I will allow it to none."

Nothing bears a stronger impress of truth than this document. We see from it, that there were times when assemblies were prohibited. Thus the Calvinists were forbidden to assemble in France. Sometimes, ministers or preachers, who held assemblies in violation of the laws, have suffered even by the halter and the rack: and since 1745, six have been executed on the gallows. Thus in England and Ireland, Roman catho-

lics are forbidden to hold assemblies ; and, on certain occasions, the delinquents have suffered death.

Notwithstanding these prohibitions declared by the Roman laws, God inspired many of the emperors with indulgence towards the Christians. Even Dioclesian, whom the ignorant consider as a persecutor—Dioclesian, the first year of whose reign is still regarded as constituting the commencement of the era of martyrdom, was, for more than eighteen years, the declared protector of christianity, and many Christians held offices of high consequence about his person. He even married a Christian ; and, in Nicomedia, the place of his residence, he permitted a splendid church to be erected opposite his palace.

The Cæsar Galerius having unfortunately taken up a prejudice against the Christians, of whom he thought he had reason to complain, influenced Dioclesian to destroy the cathedral of Nicomedia. One of the Christians, with more zeal than prudence, tore the edict of the emperor in pieces ; and hence arose that famous persecution, in the course of which more than two hundred persons were executed in the Roman empire, without reckoning those whom the rage of the common people, always fanatical and always cruel, destroyed without even the form of law.

So great has been the number of actual martyrs, at different periods, that we ought to be careful how we shake the truth of the history of those genuine confessors of our holy religion, by a dangerous mixture of fables and of false martyrs.

The Benedictine Prior (Dom) Ruinart, for example, a man otherwise as well informed as he was respectable and devout, should have selected his genuine records, his "*Actes sinceres*," with more discretion. It is not sufficient that a manuscript, whether taken from the abbey of St. Benoit on the Loire, or from a convent of Celestins at Paris, corresponds with a manuscript of the Feuillans, to show that the record is authentic ; the record should possess a suitable antiquity ; should have been evidently written by contemporaries ; and, moreover, should bear all the characters of truth.

He might have dispensed with relating the adventure of young Romanus, which occurred in 303. This young Romanus had obtained the pardon of Dioclesian, at Antioch. However, Ruinart states, that the judge Asclepiades condemned him to be burnt. The Jews, who were present at the spectacle, derided the young saint, and reproached the Christians, that their God, who had delivered Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego out of the furnace, left *them* to be burnt; that immediately, although the weather had been as calm as possible, a tremendous storm arose and extinguished the flames; that the judge then ordered young Romanus's tongue to be cut out; that the principal surgeon of the emperor, being present, eagerly acted the part of executioner, and cut off the tongue at the root; that instantly the young man, who, before, had an impediment in his speech, spoke with perfect freedom; that the emperor was astonished that any one could speak so well without a tongue; and that the surgeon, to repeat the experiment, directly cut out the tongue of some by-stander, who died upon the spot.

Eusebius, from whom the Benedictine Ruinart drew his narrative, should have so far respected the real miracles performed in the Old and New Testament (which no one can ever doubt) as not to have associated with them relations so suspicious, and so calculated to give offence to weak minds.

This last persecution did not extend through the empire. There was at that time some christianity in England, which was soon eclipsed, to re-appear afterwards under the Saxon kings. The southern districts of Gaul and Spain abounded with Christians. The Cæsar Constantius Chlorus afforded them great protection in all his provinces. He had a concubine who was a Christian, and who was the mother of Constantine, known under the name of St. Helena; for no marriage was ever proved to have taken place between them: he even divorced her in the year 292, when he married the daughter of Maximilian Hercules; but she had preserved great ascendancy over his mind, and had inspired him with a strong attachment to our holy religion.

Of the Establishment of the Church under Constantine.

Thus did divine Providence prepare the triumph of its church, by ways apparently conformable to human causes and events.

Constantius Chlorus died in 306, at York, in England, at a time when the children he had by the daughter of a Cæsar were of tender age, and incapable of making pretensions to the empire. Constantine boldly got himself elected at York, by five or six thousand soldiers, the greater part of whom were French and English. There was no probability that this election, effected without the consent of Rome, of the senate and the armies, could stand; but God gave him the victory over Maxentius, who had been elected at Rome, and delivered him at last from all his colleagues. It is not to be dissembled, that he at first rendered himself unworthy of the favours of heaven, by murdering all his relations, and at length even his own wife and son.

We may be permitted to doubt what Zosimus relates on this subject. He states that Constantine, under the tortures of remorse from the perpetration of so many crimes, enquired of the pontiffs of the empire, whether it were possible for him to obtain any expiation, and that they informed him that they knew of none. It is perfectly true, that none was found for Nero, and that he did not venture to assist at the sacred mysteries in Greece. However, the Taurobolia* were still observed, and it is difficult to believe that an emperor, supremely powerful, could not obtain a priest who would willingly indulge him in expiatory sacrifices. Perhaps, indeed, it is less easy to believe that Constantine, occupied as he was with war, politic enterprises, and ambition, and surrounded by flatterers, had time for remorse at all. Zosimus adds, that an Egyptian priest, who had access to his gate, promised him the expiation of all his crimes in the Christian religion. It has been suspected, that this priest was Ozius, bishop of Cordova.

* Expiatory sacrifices in honor of Cybele.—T.

However this might be, God reserved Constantine for the purpose of enlightening his mind, and to make him the protector of the church. This prince built the city of Constantinople, which became the center of the empire and of the Christian religion. The church then assumed a form of splendor. And we may hope that, being purified by his baptism, and penitent at his death, he may have found mercy, although he died an Arian. It would be not a little severe, were all the partisans of both the bishops of the name of Eusebius to incur damnation.

In the year 314, before Constantine resided in his new city, those who had persecuted the Christians were punished by them for their cruelties. The Christians threw Maxentius's wife into the Orontes; they cut the throats of all his relations, and they massacred, in Egypt and Palestine, those magistrates who had most strenuously declared against christianity. The widow and daughter of Dioclesian, having concealed themselves at Thessalonica, were recognised, and their bodies thrown into the sea. It would certainly have been desirable that the Christians should less eagerly have followed the cry of vengeance; but it was the will of God, who punishes according to justice, that, as soon as the Christians were able to act without restraint, their hands should be dyed in the blood of their persecutors.

Constantine summoned to meet at Nice, opposite Constantinople, the first oecumenical council, of which Osius was president. Here was decided the grand question which agitated the church, relating to the divinity of Jesus Christ.*

It is well known how the church, having contended for three hundred years against the rites of the Roman empire, at length contended against itself, and was always militant and triumphant.

In the course of time, almost the whole of the Greek church, and the whole African church, became slaves under the Arabs, and afterwards under the Turks, who

* See ARIANISM, CHRISTIANITY, and COUNCILS.

erected the Mahometan religion on the ruins of the Christian. The Roman church subsisted, but always reeking with blood, through more than six centuries of discord between the western empire and the priesthood. Even these quarrels rendered her very powerful. The bishops and abbots in Germany all became princes; and the popes gradually acquired absolute dominion in Rome, and throughout a considerable territory. Thus has God proved his church, by humiliations, by afflictions, by crimes, and by splendor.

This Latin church, in the sixteenth century, lost half of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, England, Scotland, Ireland, and the greater part of Switzerland and Holland. She gained more territory in America by the conquests of the Spaniards than she lost in Europe; but, with more territory, she has much fewer subjects.

Divine Providence seemed to call upon Japan, Siam, India, and China, to place themselves under obedience to the pope, in order to recompense him for Asia Minor, Syria, Greece, Egypt, Africa, Russia, and the other lost states which we mentioned. St. Francis Xavier, who carried the holy gospel to the East Indies and Japan, when the Portuguese went thither upon mercantile adventure, performed a very great number of miracles, all attested by the R. R. P. P. Jesuits. Some state that he resuscitated nine dead persons. But R. P. Ribadeneira, in his "Flower of the Saints," limits himself to asserting, that he resuscitated only four. That is sufficient. Providence was desirous that, in less than a hundred years, there should have been thousands of catholics in the islands of Japan. But the devil sowed his tares among the good grain. The jesuits, according to what is generally believed, entered into a conspiracy, followed by a civil war, in which all the Christians were exterminated in 1638. The nation then closed its ports against all foreigners except the Dutch, who were considered as merchants and not as Christians, and were first compelled to trample on the cross, in order to gain leave to sell their wares in the prison in which they are shut up, when they land at Nangazaki.

The catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion has become proscribed in China in our own time, but with circumstances of less cruelty. The R. R. P. P. Jesuits had not, indeed, resuscitated the dead at the court of Pekin; they were contented with teaching astronomy, casting cannon, and being mandarins. Their unfortunate disputes with the Dominicans and others gave such offence to the great emperor Yontchin, that that prince, who was justice and goodness personified, was blind enough to refuse permission any longer to teach our holy religion, in respect to which our missionaries so little agreed. He expelled them, but with a kindness truly paternal, supplying them with means of subsistence, and conveyance to the confines of his empire.

All Asia, all Africa, the half of Europe, all that belongs to the English and Dutch in America, all the unconquered American tribes, all the southern climes, which constitute a fifth portion of the globe, remain the prey of the demon, in order to fulfil those sacred words, "many are called, but few are chosen." (Matt. xx. 16.)

Of the Signification of the Word "Church." Picture of the primitive Church. Its Degeneracy. Examination into those Societies which have attempted to re-establish the primitive Church, and particularly into that of the Primitives called Quakers.

This term among the Greeks, signified the assembly of the people. When the Hebrew books were translated into Greek, "synagogue" was rendered by "church;" and the same term was employed to express the "Jewish society," the "political congregation," the "Jewish assembly," the "Jewish people." Thus it is said in the book of Numbers,* "Why hast thou conducted the church into the wilderness;" and in Deuteronomy,† "The eunuch, the Moabite, and the Ammonite, shall not enter the church; the Idumeans and the Egyptians shall not enter the church, even to the third generation."

* Chap. xx. 4.

† Chap. xxiii. v. 1, 2, 3.

Jesus Christ says, in St. Matthew,* "If thy brother have sinned against thee [have offended thee] rebuke him, between yourselves. Take with you one or two witnesses, that, from the mouth of two or three witnesses, every thing may be made clear; and, if he hear not them, complain to the assembly of the people, to the church; and, if he hear not the church, let him be to thee as a heathen or a publican. Verily, I say unto you, so shall it come to pass, whatsoever he shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." An allusion to the keys of doors which close and unclosé the latch.

The case is here, that of two men, one of whom has offended the other, and persists. He could not be made to appear in the assembly, in the Christian church; as yet there was none: the person against whom his companion complained could not be judged by a bishop and priests who were not in existence; besides which, it is to be observed, that neither Jewish priests nor Christian priests ever became judges in quarrels between private persons. It was a matter of police. Bishops did not become judges till about the time of Valentinian III.

The commentators have therefore concluded, that the sacred writer of this gospel makes our Lord speak in this passage by anticipation,—that it is an allegory, a prediction of what would take place when the Christian church should be formed and established.

Selden makes an important remark on this passage, that, among the Jews, publicans or collectors of the royal monies were not excommunicated. The populace might detest them, but as they were indispensable officers, appointed by the prince, the idea had never occurred to any one of separating them from the assembly. The Jews were at that time under the administration of the proconsul of Syria, whose jurisdiction extended to the confines of Galilee, and to the island of Cyprus, where he had deputies. It would have

* Chap. xviii.

been highly imprudent in any to show publicly their abomination of the legal officers of the proconsul. Injustice, even, would have been added to imprudence; for the Roman knights (equestrians), who farmed the public domain and collected Cæsar's money, were authorised by the laws.

St. Augustin, in his eighty-first sermon, may perhaps suggest reflections for comprehending this passage. He is speaking of those who retain their hatred, who are slow to pardon.

"Cepisti habere fratrem tuum tanquam publicanum. Ligas illum in terra; sed ut juste alliges vide: nam injusta vincula dirumpit justitia. Cum autem correxeris et concordaveris cum fratre tuo solvisti eum in terra." "You began to regard your brother as a publican; that is, to bind him on the earth. But be cautious that you bind him justly: for justice breaks unjust bonds. But when you have corrected, and afterwards agreed with your brother, you have loosed him on earth."

From St. Augustin's interpretation, it seems that the person offended shut up the offender in prison; and that it is to be understood that, if the offender is put in bonds on earth, he is also in heavenly bonds; but that if the offended person is inexorable, he becomes bound himself. In St. Augustin's explanation, there is nothing whatever relating to the church. The whole matter relates to pardoning or not pardoning an injury. St. Augustin is not speaking here of the sacerdotal power of remitting sins in the name of God. That is a right recognised in other places; a right derived from the sacrament of confession. St. Augustin, profound as he is in types and allegories, does not consider this famous passage as alluding to the absolution given or refused by the ministers of the Roman catholic church, in the sacrament of penance.

Of the "Church," in Christian Societies.

In the greater part of Christian states we perceive no more than four churches—the Greek, the Roman, the Lutheran, and the reformed or Calvinistic. It is

thus in Germany: the Primitives or Quakers, the Anabaptists, the Socinians, the Memnonists, the Pietists, the Moravians, the Jews, and others, do not form a church. The Jewish religion has preserved the designation of synagogue. The Christian sects which are tolerated have only private assemblies, "conventicles." It is the same in London.

We do not find the catholic church in Sweden, nor in Denmark, nor in the north of Germany, nor in Holland, nor in three quarters of Switzerland, nor in the three kingdoms of Great Britain.

Of the Primitive Church, and of those who have endeavoured to re-establish it.

The Jews, as well as all the different people of Syria, were divided into many different congregations, as we have already seen. All aimed at a mystical perfection.

A ray of purer light shone upon the disciples of St. John, who still subsist near Mosul. At last, the Son of God, announced by St. John, appeared on earth, whose disciples were always on a perfect equality. Jesus had expressly enjoined them, "There shall not be any of you either first or last. . . I came to serve, not to be served. . . He who strives to be master over others shall be their servant."

One proof of equality is, that the Christians at first took no other designation than that of "brethren." They assembled in expectation of the spirit. They prophesied when they were inspired. St. Paul, in his first letter to the Corinthians, says to them,* "If, in your assembly, any one of you have the gift of a psalm, a doctrine, a revelation, a language, an interpretation, let all be done for edification. If any speak languages, as two or three may do in succession, let there be an interpreter."

"Let two or three prophets speak, and the others judge; and if anything be revealed to another while one is speaking, let the latter be silent; for you may all

* Chap. xiv. v. 26, &c.

prophecy one by one, that all may learn and all exhort: the spirit of prophecy is subject to the prophets; for the Lord is a God of peace. . . Thus, then, my brethren, be all of you desirous of prophesying; and hinder not the speaking of languages."

I have translated literally, both out of reverence for the text, and to avoid any disputes about words.

St. Paul, in the same epistle, admits* that women may prophesy; although, in the fourteenth chapter, he forbids their speaking in the assemblies. "Every woman," says he, "praying or prophesying without having a veil over her head, dishonoureth her head, for it is the same as if she were shaven."

It is clear, from all these passages and from many others, that the first Christians were all equal, not merely as brethren in Jesus Christ, but as having equal gifts. The spirit was communicated to them equally. They equally spoke different languages; they had equally the gift of prophesying, without distinction of rank, age, or sex.

The apostles who instructed the neophytes, possessed over them, unquestionably, that natural pre-eminence which the preceptor has over the scholar; but of jurisdiction, of temporal authority, of what the world calls "honours," of distinction in dress, of emblems of superiority, assuredly neither they, nor those who succeeded them, had any. They possessed another and a very different superiority, that of persuasion.

The brethren put their money into one common stock.† Seven persons were chosen by themselves out of their own body to take charge of the tables, and to provide for the common wants. They chose, in Jerusalem itself, those whom we call Stephen, Philip, Procorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicholas. It is remarkable, that among seven persons chosen by a Jewish community, six were Greeks.

After the time of the apostles, we find no example of any Christian who possessed any other power over other Christians than that of instructing, exhorting, ex-

* Chap. xi. v. 5.

† Acts, chap. vi.

elling demons from the bodies of "energumens," and performing miracles. All is spiritual; nothing savours of worldly pomp. It was only in the third century that the spirit of pride, vanity, and interest, began to be manifested among the believers on every side.

The agapæ were now become splendid festivals, and attracted reproach for the luxury and profusion which attended them. Tertullian acknowledges it.* "Yes," says he, "we make splendid and plentiful entertainments, but was not the same done at the mysteries of Athens and of Egypt? Whatever learning we display, it is useful and pious, as the poor benefit by it." *Quantiscumque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis, si quidem inopes refrigerio isto juvamus.*

About this very period, certain societies of Christians, who pronounced themselves more perfect than the rest, the Montanists, for example, who boasted of so many prophecies and so austere a morality; who regarded second nuptials as absolute adulteries, and flight from persecution as apostacy; who had exhibited in public holy convulsions and extasies, and pretended to speak with God face to face; were convicted, it was said, of mixing the blood of an infant, a year old, with the bread of the eucharist. They brought upon the true Christians this dreadful reproach, which exposed them to persecutions.

Their method of proceeding, according to St. Augustin,† was this: they pricked the whole body of the infant with pins, and kneading up flour with the blood, made bread of it. If any one died by eating it, they honoured him as a martyr.

Manners were so corrupted, that the holy fathers were incessantly complaining of it. Hear what St. Cyprian says, in his book concerning tombs‡. "Every priest," says he, "seeks for wealth and honour with insatiable avidity. Bishops are without religion; wo-

* Tertullian, chap. xxxix.

† Augustin on Heresies; Heresy xxvi.—Doubtless a calumny.—T.

‡ See the works of St. Cyprian, and Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, tom. ii. p. 168. Edit. 12mo. 1725.

men without modesty; knavery is general; profane swearing and perjury abound; animosities divide Christians asunder; bishops abandon their pupils to attend the exchange, and obtain opulence by merchandise; in short, we please ourselves alone, and excite the disgust of all the rest of the world.

Before the occurrence of these scandals, the priest Novatian had been the cause of a very dreadful one to the people of Rome. He was the first anti-pope. The bishopric of Rome, although secret, and liable to persecution, was an object of ambition and avarice, on account of the liberal contributions of the Christians, and the authority attached to that high situation.

We will not here describe again what is contained in so many authentic documents, and what we every day hear from the mouths of persons correctly informed;—the prodigious number of schisms and wars; the six hundred years of fierce hostility between the empire and the priesthood; the wealth of nations, flowing through a thousand channels, sometimes into Rome, sometimes into Avignon, when the popes, for two and seventy years together, fixed their residence in that place; the blood rushing in streams throughout Europe, either for the interest of a tiara utterly unknown to Jesus Christ, or on account of unintelligible questions which he never mentioned. Our religion is not less sacred or less divine for having been so defiled by guilt and steeped in carnage.

When the frenzy of domination, that dreadful passion of the human heart, had reached its greatest excess; when the monk Hildebrand,* elected bishop of Rome against the laws, wrested that capital from the emperors, and forbade all the bishops of the west from bearing the name of pope, in order to appropriate it to himself alone; when the bishops of Germany, following his example, made themselves sovereigns, which all those of France and England also attempted;—from those dreadful times down even to our own, certain Christian societies have arisen, which, under a hun-

* Gregory VII.

dred different names, have endeavoured to re-establish the primitive equality in Christendom.

But what had been practicable in a small society, concealed from the world, was no longer so in extensive kingdoms. The church militant and triumphant could no longer be the church humble and unknown. The bishops, and the large, rich, and powerful monastic communities, uniting under the standards of the new pontificate of Rome, fought at that time *pro aris et focis*, for their hearths and altars. Crusades, armies, sieges, battles, rapine, tortures, assassinations by the hand of the executioner, assassinations by the hands of priests of both the contending parties, poisonings, devastations by fire and sword,—all were employed to support and to pull down the new ecclesiastical administration; and the cradle of the primitive church was so hidden, as to be scarcely discoverable under the blood and bones of the slain.

Of the Primitives called Quakers.

The religious and civil wars of Great Britain having desolated England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the unfortunate reign of Charles I. William Penn, son of a vice-admiral, resolved to go and establish what he called the primitive church on the shores of North America, in a climate which appeared to him to be mild, and congenial to his own manners. His sect went under the denomination of "Quakers"—a ludicrous designation; but which they merited, by the trembling of the body which they affected when preaching, and by a nasal pronunciation, such as peculiarly distinguished one species of monks in the Roman church, the capuchins. But men may both snuffle and shake, and yet be meek, frugal, modest, just, and charitable. No one denies that this society of Primitives displayed an example of all those virtues.

Penn saw that the English bishops and the presbyterians had been the cause of a dreadful war on account of a surplice, lawn sleeves, and a liturgy. He would have neither liturgy, lawn, nor surplice. The

apostles had neither of them. Jesus Christ had baptised none. The associates of Penn declined baptism.

The first believers were equal : these new comers aimed at being so, as far as possible. The first disciples received the spirit, and spoke in the assembly : they had no altars, no temples, no ornaments, no tapers, incense, or ceremonies. Penn and his followers flattered themselves that they received the spirit, and they renounced all pomp and ceremony. Charity was in high esteem with the disciples of the Saviour : those of Penn formed a common purse for assisting the poor. Thus these imitators of the Essenians and first Christians, although in error with respect to doctrines and ceremonies, were an astonishing model of order and morals to every other society of Christians.

At length this singular man went, with five hundred of his followers, to form an establishment in what was at that time the most savage district of America. Queen Christina of Sweden had been desirous of founding a colony there, which however had not prospered. The primitives of Penn were more successful.

It was on the banks of the Delaware, near the fortieth degree of latitude. This country belonged to the king of England only because there were no others who claimed it ; and because the people whom we call savages, and who might have cultivated it, had always remained far distant in the recesses of the forests. If England had possessed this country merely by right of conquest, Penn and his primitives would have held such an asylum in horror. They looked upon the pretended right of conquest only as a violation of the right of nature, and as absolute robbery.

King Charles II. made Penn sovereign of all this desert country by a charter granted March 4, 1681. In the following year Penn promulgated his code of laws. The first was, complete civil liberty ; in consequence of which, every colonist possessing five acres of land became a member of the legislature. The next was, an absolute prohibition against advocates

and attornies ever taking fees. The third was, the admission of all religions; and even the permission to every inhabitant to worship God in his own house, without ever taking part in public worship.

This is the law last mentioned, in the terms of its enactment:—

“ Liberty of conscience being a right which all men have received from nature with their very being, and which all peaceable persons ought to maintain, it is positively established that no person shall be compelled to join in any public exercise of religion.

“ But every one is expressly allowed full power to engage freely in the public or private exercise of his religion, without incurring thereby any trouble or impediment, under any pretext; provided that he acknowledge his belief in one only eternal God Almighty, the creator, preserver, and governor of the universe, and that he fulfil all the duties of civil society which he is bound to perform to his fellow-citizens.”

This law is even more indulgent, more humane, than that which was given to the people of Carolina by Locke, the Plato of England, so superior to the Plato of Greece. Locke permitted no public religions but such as should be approved by seven fathers of families. This is a different sort of wisdom from Penn's.

But that which reflects immortal honour on both legislators, and which should operate as an eternal example to mankind, is, that this liberty of conscience has not occasioned the least disturbance. It might on the contrary be said, that God had showered down the most distinguished blessings on the colony of Pennsylvania. It consisted, in 1682, of five hundred persons, and in less than a century its population had increased to nearly three hundred thousand. One half of the colonists are of the primitive religion: twenty different religions comprise the other half. There are twelve fine chapels in Philadelphia, and in other places every house is a chapel. This city has deserved its name, “ Brotherly Love.” Seven other cities, and innumerable small towns, flourish under this law of

concord. Three hundred vessels leave the port in the course of every year.

This state, which seems to deserve perpetual duration, was very nearly destroyed in the fatal war of 1755, when the French with their savage allies, on one side, and the English with theirs, on the other, began with disputing about some frozen districts of Nova Scotia. The primitives, faithful to their pacific system of Christianity, declined taking arms. The savages killed some of their colonists on the frontier: the primitives made no reprisals. They even refused, for a long time, to pay the troops. They addressed the English general in these words: "Men are like pieces of clay, which are broken to pieces one against another. Why should we aid in breaking one another to pieces?"

At last, in the general assembly of the legislature of Pennsylvania, the other religions prevailed; militia were raised; the primitives contributed money, but declined becoming armed. They obtained their object, which was peace with their neighbours. These pretended savages said to them: "Send us a descendant of the great Penn, who never deceived us: with him we will treat." A grandson of that great man was deputed, and peace was concluded.

Many of the primitives had negro slaves to cultivate their estates. But they blushed at having in this instance imitated other Christians. They gave liberty to their slaves in 1769.

At present, all the other colonies imitate them in liberty of conscience; and, although there are among them presbyterians and persons of the high church party, no one is molested about his creed. It is this which has rendered the English power in America equal to that of Spain, with all its mines of gold and silver. If any method could be devised to enervate the English colonies, it would be to establish in them the Inquisition.

The example of the primitives called "Quakers," has given rise in Pennsylvania to a new society, in

a district which it calls Euphrates. This is the sect of Dunkers or Dunks; a sect much more secluded from the world than Penn's; a sort of religious hospitalers, all clothed uniformly. Married persons are not permitted to reside in the city of Euphrates: they reside in the country, which they cultivate. The public treasury supplies all their wants in times of scarcity. This society administers baptism only to adults. It rejects the doctrine of original sin as impious, and that of the eternity of punishment as barbarous. The purity of their lives permits them not to imagine that God will torment his creatures cruelly or eternally. Gone astray in a corner of the new world, far from the great flock of the catholic church, they are up to the present hour, notwithstanding this unfortunate error, the most just and most inimitable of men.*

Quarrel between the Greek and Latin Churches in Asia and Europe.

It has been a matter of lamentation to all good men, for nearly fourteen centuries, that the Greek and Latin churches have always been rivals, and that the robe of Jesus Christ, which was without a seam, has been continually rent asunder. This opposition is perfectly natural. Rome and Constantinople hate each other. When masters cherish a mutual aversion, their dependents entertain no mutual regard. The two communions have disputed on the superiority of language, the antiquity of sees, on learning, eloquence, and power.

It is certain that, for a long time, the Greeks possessed all the advantage. They boasted that they had been the masters of the Latins, and that they had taught them everything! The gospels were written in Greek. There was not a doctrine, a rite, a mys-

* This brief sketch of the settlement of Pennsylvania, by the hand of Voltaire, has been retained rather with a view of exhibiting the style and sentiment of the master, than for the value of its information. It is also curious, as having been written only a year or two before that colonial war, which may be said to have supplied one of the strongest and most salutary impulses to an accelerated movement in a social right line, that the general human family has ever received.—T.

tery, a usage, which was not Greek : from the word "baptism" to the word "eucharist," all was Greek. No fathers of the church were known, but among the Greeks, till St. Jerome; and even he was not a Roman, but a Dalmatian. St. Augustin, who flourished soon after St. Jerome, was an African. The seven great œcumenical councils were held in Greek cities : the bishops of Rome were never present at them, because they were acquainted only with their own Latin language, which was already exceedingly corrupted.

The hostility between Rome and Constantinople broke out in 452, at the council of Chalcedon, which had been assembled to decide whether Jesus Christ had possessed two natures and one person, or two persons with one nature. It was there decided that the church of Constantinople was in every respect equal to that of Rome, as to honours; and the patriarch of the one equal in every respect to the patriarch of the other. The pope, St. Leo, admitted the two natures; but neither he nor his successors admitted the equality. It may be observed that, in this dispute about rank and pre-eminence, both parties were in direct opposition to the injunction of Jesus Christ, recorded in the gospel: "There shall not be among you first or last." Saints are saints, but pride will insinuate itself every where. The same disposition which made a mason's son, who had been raised to a bishopric, foam with rage because he was not addressed by the title of "my lord," has set the whole Christian world in flames.

The Romans were always less addicted to disputation, less subtle, than the Greeks; but they were much more politic. The bishops of the east, while they argued, yet remained subjects: the bishop of Rome, without arguments, contrived eventually to establish his power on the ruins of the western empire. And what Virgil said of the Scipios and Cæsars might be said of the popes—

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

VIRG. ÆNEID, i. 226.

This mutual hatred led, at length, to actual division, in the time of Photius, papa or overseer of the Byzantine church, and Nicholas I. papa or overseer of the Roman church. As, unfortunately, an ecclesiastical quarrel scarcely ever occurs without something ludicrous being attached to it, it happened, in this instance, that the contest began between two patriarchs, both of whom were eunuchs : Ignatius and Photius, who disputed the chair of Constantinople, were both emasculated. This mutilation depriving them of the power of becoming natural fathers, they could become fathers only of the church.

It is observed, that persons of this unfortunate description are meddling, malignant, and plotting. Ignatius and Photius kept the whole Greek court in a state of turbulence.

The Latin, Nicholas I. having taken the part of Ignatius, Photius declared him a heretic, on account of his admitting the doctrine that the breath of God, or the holy spirit, proceeded from the Father and the Son, contrary to the unanimous decision of the whole church, which had decided that it proceeded from the Father only.

Besides this heretical doctrine respecting the procession, Nicholas ate, and permitted to be eaten, eggs and cheese in Lent. In fine, as the very climax of unbelief, the Roman papa had his beard shaved, which, to the Greek papas, was nothing less than downright apostacy; as Moses, the patriarchs, and Jesus Christ, were always, by the Greek and Latin painters, drawn with beards.

When, in 879, the patriarch Photius was restored to his seat by the eighth oecumenical council, consisting of four hundred bishops, three hundred of whom had condemned him in the preceding council, he was acknowledged by pope John as his brother. Two legates, dispatched by him to this council, joined the Greek church, and declared that whoever asserted the holy spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son was a Judas. But the practice of shaving the chin and

eating eggs in Lent being persisted in, the two churches always remained divided.

The schism was completed in 1053 and 1054, when Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, publicly condemned the bishop of Rome, Leo IX. and all the Latins, adding to all the reproaches against them by Photius, that, contrary to the practice of the apostles, they dared to make use of unleavened bread in the eucharist; that they wickedly ate blood puddings, and twisted the necks, instead of cutting off the heads, of pigeons intended for the table. All the Latin churches in the Greek empire were shut up; and all intercourse with those who ate blood puddings was forbidden.

Pope Leo IX. entered into serious negotiation on this matter with the emperor Constantine Monomachus, and obtained some mitigations. It was precisely at this period that those celebrated Norman gentlemen, the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, despising at once the pope and the Greek emperor, plundered every thing they could in Apulia and Calabria, and ate blood-puddings with the utmost hardihood. The Greek emperor favoured the pope as much as he was able; but nothing could reconcile the Greeks with the Latins. The Greeks regarded their adversaries as barbarians, who did not know a single word of Greek.

The irruption of the crusaders, under pretence of delivering the holy land, but in reality to gain possession of Constantinople, completed the hatred entertained against the Romans.

But the power of the Latin church increased every day, and the Greeks were at length gradually vanquished by the Turks. The popes, long since, became powerful and wealthy sovereigns; the whole Greek church became slaves from the time of Mahomet II. excepting Russia, which was then a barbarous country, and in which the church was of no account.

Whoever is but slightly informed of the state of affairs in the Levant, knows that the sultan confers

the patriarchate of the Greeks by the cross and a ring, without any apprehension of being excommunicated, as some of the German emperors were by the popes, for this same ceremony.

It is certainly true, that the church of Stamboul has preserved, in appearance, the liberty of choosing its archbishop; but it never, in fact, chooses any other than the person pointed out by the Ottoman court. This preferment costs, at present, about eighty thousand francs, which the person chosen contrives to get refunded from the Greeks. If any canon of wealth and influence comes forward, and offers the grand vizier a larger sum, the titular possessor is deprived, and the place given to the last bidder; precisely as the see of Rome was disposed of, in the tenth century, by Marozia and Theodora. If the titular patriarch resists, he receives fifty blows on the soles of his feet, and is banished. Sometimes he is beheaded, as was the case with Lucas Cyrille, in 1638.

The grand Turk disposes of all the other bishoprics, in the same manner, for money; and the price charged for every bishopric under Mahomet II. is always stated in the patent; but the additional sum paid is not mentioned in it. It is not exactly known what a Greek priest gives for his bishopric.

These patents are rather diverting documents:—"I grant to N . . ., a Christian priest, this order, for the perfection of his felicity. I command him to reside in the city herein named, as bishop of the infidel Christians, according to their ancient usage, and their vain and extravagant ceremonies, willing and ordaining that all Christians of that district shall acknowledge him; and that no monk or priest shall marry without his permission." That is to say, without paying for the same.

The slavery of this church is equal to its ignorance. But the Greeks have only what they deserve. They were wholly absorbed in disputes about the light on Mount Tabor, and the umbilical cord, at the very time of the taking of Constantinople.

While recording these melancholy truths, we enter-

tain the hope that the Empress Catherine II.* will give the Greeks their liberty. Would she could restore to them that courage and that intellect which they possessed in the days of Miltiades and Themistocles; and that Mount Athos supplied good soldiers and fewer monks!

Of the present Greek Church.

The Greek church has scarcely deserved the toleration which the Mussulmen granted it. The following observations are from Mr. Porter, the English ambassador in Turkey:

"I am inclined to draw a veil over those scandalous disputes between the Greeks and Romans, on the subject of Bethlem and the holy land, as they denominate it. The unjust and odious proceedings which these have occasioned between them are a disgrace to the Christian name. In the midst of these debates, the ambassador appointed to protect the Romish communion, becomes, with all high dignity, an object of sincere compassion.

"In every country where the Roman catholic faith prevails, immense sums are levied in order to support against the Greeks equivocal pretensions to the precarious possession of a corner of the world reputed holy; and to preserve in the hands of monks of the Latin communion, the remains of an old stable at Bethlem, where a chapel has been erected, and where, on the doubtful authority of oral tradition, it is pretended that Christ was born; as also a tomb, which may be, and most probably may not be, what is called his sepulchre; for the precise situation of these two places is as little ascertained as that which contains the ashes of Cæsar."

What renders the Greeks yet more contemptible in the eyes of the Turks, is the miracle which they per-

* The Greeks are happily exhibiting no small portion of their former courage and intellect, without the sinister aid of Russia, who has more than once perfidiously excited and abandoned them. Nothing is more to be deprecated than any plausible interferences, in the existing portentous struggle, on the part of the autocratical Joseph Surface.—T.

form every year at Easter. The poor bishop of Jerusalem is inclosed in a small cave, which is passed off for the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ, with packets of small wax tapers; he strikes fire, lights one of these little tapers, and comes out of his cave, exclaiming, "The fire is come down from heaven, and the holy taper is lighted." All the Greeks immediately buy up these tapers, and the money is divided between the Turkish commander and the bishop.

The deplorable state of this church, under the dominion of the Turk, may be judged of from this single trait.

The Greek church in Russia has of late assumed a much more respectable consistency, since the empress Catherine II. has delivered it from its secular cares; she has taken from it four hundred thousand slaves, which it possessed. It is now paid out of the imperial treasury, entirely dependent on the government, and restricted by wise laws; it can effect nothing but good; and is every day becoming more learned and useful.* It possesses a preacher of the name of Plato, who has composed sermons which the Plato of antiquity would not have disclaimed.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.†

ENGLAND is the country of sects; "*multæ sunt mansiones in domo patris mei*:" an Englishman, like a free man, goes to heaven which way he pleases. However, although every one can serve God in his own way, the national religion—that in which fortunes are made—is the episcopal, called the Church of England, or emphatically, "The Church." No one can have employment of any consequence, either in England

* The church should be subordinate to the state everywhere. It is always mischievous when dominant, and scarcely less so when admitted into partnership; especially when, as in some instances, it very impudently assumes to be head of the firm.—T.

† This little sally must be regarded rather as a covered attack upon the dissolute clergy of France, than a competent sketch of the character of that of England.—T.

or Ireland, without being members of the establishment. This reasoning, which is highly demonstrative, has converted so many non-conformists, that at present there is not a twentieth part of the nation out of the bosom of the dominant church.*

The English clergy have retained many catholic ceremonies, and above all, that of receiving tithes with a very scrupulous attention. They also possess the pious ambition of ruling the people; for what village rector would not be a pope if he could?

With regard to manners, the English clergy are more decorous than those of France, chiefly because the ecclesiastics are brought up in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, far from the corruption of the metropolis.† They are not called to the dignities of the church until very late; and at an age when men, having no other passion than avarice, their ambition is less aspiring. Employments are in England the recompense of long services in the church, as well as in the army. You do not *there* see young men become bishops or colonels, on leaving college; and, moreover, almost all the priests are married. The pedantry and awkwardness of manners, acquired in the universities, and the little commerce they have with women, generally oblige a bishop to be contented with the one which belongs to him. The clergy go sometimes to the tavern, because custom permits it; and if they get "*Bacchi plenum*," it is in the college style, gravely and with due decorum.‡

* As the ape divined in regard to the assumed adventures of Don Quixote in the cave of Montesinos, part of the two preceding sentences are true and part false. The proportion without the pale of the establishment, even in the time of Voltaire, was much greater than he alleges; and since his days, we apprehend that the stray sheep have been continually increasing.—T.

† "*Nous avons changé tout cela*," says Sganarelle. . . Many spirited young men contrive to ruin themselves before they quit the university; and a still greater number lay there the foundation of the destruction which is afterwards consummated at the clubs or the race course.—T.

‡ It is obvious from this passage, that Dr. Southey is falsely accused of having collected materials from Voltaire for his "*Book of the Church*."—T.

That indefinable character which is neither ecclesiastical nor secular, which we call abbé, is unknown in England; the ecclesiastics there are generally respected, and for the greater part pedants. When the latter learn, that in France young men distinguished by their debaucheries, and raised to the prelacy by the intrigues of women, publicly make love; vie with each other in the composition of love songs; give luxurious suppers every day, from which they arise to implore the light of the Holy Spirit, and boldly call themselves the apostles' successors—they thank God that they are protestants. But what then? They are vile heretics, and fit only for burning, as master Francis Rabelais says, “with all the devils.” Hence I drop the subject.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

THE gospel forbids those who would attain to perfection, to amass treasures, and to preserve their temporal goods: “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.”*—“If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor.”†—“And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.”‡

The apostles and their first successors would not receive estates; they only accepted the value, and after having provided what was necessary for their subsistence, they distributed the rest among the poor. Sapphira and Ananias did not give their goods to St. Peter, but they sold them and brought him the price: “Vendæ quæ habes et da pauperibus.”

The church already possessed considerable property at the close of the third century, since Dioclesian and Maximin had pronounced the confiscation of it, in 302.

As soon as Constantine was upon the throne, he

* St. Matthew, chap. vi. v. 19.

† Ibid, chap. xix. v. 21.

‡ Ibid, chap. xiv. v. 21.

permitted the churches to be endowed like the temples of the ancient religion, and from that time the church acquired rich estates. St. Jerome complains of it in one of his letters to Eustochius: "When you see them," says he, "accost the rich widows whom they meet with a soft and sanctified air, you would think that their hands were only extended to give them their blessing; but it is, on the contrary, to receive the price of their hypocrisy."

The holy priests received without claiming. Valentinian I. thought it right to forbid the ecclesiastics from receiving anything from widows and women, by will or otherwise.* This law, which is found in the Theodosian code, was revoked by Marcian and Justinian.

Justinian, to favour the ecclesiastics, forbade the judges, by his new code xviii. chap. ii. to annul the wills made in favour of the church, even when executed without the formalities prescribed by the laws.†

Anastasius had enacted in 471, that church property should be held by a prescription, or title, of forty years' duration. Justinian inserted this law in his code;‡ but this prince, who was continually changing his jurisprudence, subsequently extended this prescription to a century. Immediately, several ecclesiastics, unworthy of their profession, forged false titles,§ and drew out of the dust old testaments, void by the ancient laws, but valid according to the new. Citizens were deprived of their patrimonies by fraud; and possessions, which until then were considered inviolable, were usurped by the church. In short, the abuse was so crying, that Justinian himself was obliged to re-establish the dispositions of the law of Anastasius, by his novel cxxxi. chap. vi.

The possessions of the church during the five first

* The effect of priestly influence over the timorous and pious sex, as Hume denominates the fair part of the creation, has been and is similar in all ages and countries.—T.

† Fine death-bed pickings!—T.

‡ Cod. tit. de fund. patrimon.

§ Cod. loi xxiv. de sacro sanctis ecclesiis.

centuries of our era were regulated by deacons, who distributed them to the clergy and to the poor. This community ceased at the end of the fifth century, and church property was divided into four parts; one being given to the bishops, another to the clergy, a third to the place of worship, and the fourth to the poor. Soon after this division, the bishops alone took charge of the whole four portions, and this is the reason why the inferior clergy are generally very poor.

Monks possessing Slaves.

What is still more melancholy, the Benedictines, Bernardines, and even the Châtreux, are permitted to have mortmains and slaves. Under their domination in several provinces of France and Germany are still recognised—

Personal slavery,

Slavery of property, and

Slavery of person and property.

Slavery of the person consists in the incapacity of a man's disposing of his property in favour of his children, if they have not always lived with their father in the same house, and at the same table, in which case all belongs to the monks. The fortune of an inhabitant of Mount Jura, put into the hands of a notary, becomes, even in Paris, the prey of those who have originally embraced evangelical poverty at Mount Jura. The son asks alms at the door of the house which his father has built; and the monks, far from giving them, even arrogate to themselves the right of not paying his father's creditors, and of regarding as void all the mortgages on the house of which they take possession. In vain the widow throws herself at their feet, to obtain a part of her dowry. This dowry, these debts, this paternal property, all belong by divine right to the monks. The creditors, the widow, and the children, are all left to die in beggary.

Real slavery is that which is effected by residence. Whoever occupies a house within the domain of these monks, and lives in it a year and a day, becomes their serf for life. It has sometimes happened that a French

merchant, and father of a family, led by his business into this barbarous country, has taken a house for a year. Dying afterwards in his own country, in another province of France, his widow and children have been quite astonished to see officers armed with writs come and take away their furniture, sell it in the name of St. Claude, and drive away a whole family from the house of their father.

Mixed slavery is that which, being composed of the two, is, of all that rapacity has ever invented, the most execrable, and beyond the conception even of freebooters.

There are, then, Christian people groaning in a triple slavery under monks, who have taken the vow of humility and poverty. You will ask how governments suffer these fatal contradictions? It is because the monks are rich and their vassals are poor. It is because the monks, to preserve their Hunnish rights, make presents to the commissaries and to the mistresses of those who might interpose their authority, to put down their oppression. The strong always crush the weak: but why must monks be the strongest?*

CICERO.

It is at a time when, in France, the fine arts are in a state of decline; in an age of paradox, and amidst the degradation and persecution of literature and philosophy; that an attempt is made to tarnish the name of Cicero. And who is the man who thus endeavours to throw disgrace upon his memory? It is one who lends his services in defence of persons accused like himself; it is an advocate, who has studied eloquence under that great master; it is a citizen who appears to

* We need not say, that all this is now done away in France, but it existed in the days of Voltaire, and hence the vast utility of his exertions. We retain this article to show the nature of the fraud, imposture, and oppression which this great and spirited writer laboured so zealously to overthrow. And be it understood, too, that it is the ascendancy of animals like these monks, that still makes such a mental pesthouse of unhappy Spain.—T.

be, like Cicero, animated by devotion to the public good.*

In a book entitled "Navigable Canals," a book abounding in grand and patriotic rather than practical views, we feel no small astonishment at finding the following philippic against Cicero, who was never concerned in digging canals:—

"The most glorious trait in the history of Cicero is the destruction of Catiline's conspiracy; which, regarded in its true light, produced little sensation at Rome, except in consequence of his affecting to give it importance. The danger existed much more in his discourses than in the affair itself. It was an enterprise of debauchees, which it was easy to disconcert. Neither the principal nor the accomplices had taken the slightest measure to ensure the success of their guilty attempt. There was nothing astonishing in this singular matter, but the blustering which attended all the proceedings of the consul, and the facility with which he was permitted to sacrifice to his self-love so many scions of illustrious families.

"Besides, the life of Cicero abounds in traits of meanness. His eloquence was as venal as his soul was pusillanimous. If his tongue was not guided by interest, it was guided by fear or hope. The desire of obtaining partisans led him to the tribune, to defend, without a blush, men more dishonourable, and incal-

* M. Linguet.—This disposition to satirise Cicero is the effect of that secret bias which induces many writers to controvert, not public prejudices, but the opinions of enlightened men. They appear to say, like Cæsar, I would rather be the first man in a country town than the second in Rome. To acquire any glory in the track of distinguished men, it is necessary to add new truths to those which they have established, to seize what escaped their notice, to see better and farther than they did. It is necessary to be born with genius, to cultivate it by assiduous study, to be devoted to indefatigable labour, and finally to wait for reputation instead of attempting to anticipate it. Whereas, in controverting their opinions, a man may, by an easier purchase, obtain a more speedy and a more brilliant fame; and if he be rather disposed to number votes than to weigh them, there cannot be any hesitation as to which of the two methods he should adopt.—*Note of French Editor.*

culably more dangerous, than Catiline. His clients were nearly all of them miscreants; and, by a singular exercise of divine justice, he at last met death from the hands of one of those wretches whom his skill had extricated from the fangs of human justice."

We answer, that, "regarded in its true light," the conspiracy of Catiline excited at Rome somewhat more than a "slight sensation;" it plunged her into the greatest disturbance and danger. It was terminated only by a battle so bloody, that there is no example of equal carnage, and scarcely any of equal valour. All the soldiers of Catiline, after having killed half of the army of Petreius, were killed, to the last man. Catiline perished, covered with wounds, upon a heap of the slain; and all were found with their countenances sternly glaring upon the enemy. This was not an enterprise so wonderfully easy to be disconcerted: Cæsar encouraged it; Cæsar learnt from it to conspire on a future day more successfully against his country.

"Cicero defended, without a blush, men more dishonourable, and incalculably more dangerous, than Catiline!"—Was this when he defended in the tribune Sicily against Verres, and the Roman republic against Anthony? Was it when he exhorted the clemency of Cæsar in favour of Ligarius and king Deiotarus? or when he obtained the right of citizenship for the poet Archias? or when, in his exquisite oration for the Manilian law, he obtained every Roman suffrage on behalf of the great Pompey?

He pleaded for Milo, the murderer of Clodius; but Clodius had deserved the tragical end he met with by his outrages. Clodius had been involved in the conspiracy of Catiline; Clodius was his mortal enemy. He had irritated Rome against him, and had punished him for having saved Rome: Milo was his friend.

What! is it in our time that any one ventures to assert, that God punished Cicero for having defended a military tribune called Popilius Lena, and that divine vengeance made this same Popilius Lena the instrument of his assassination! No one knows whether Popilius Lena was guilty of the crime of which he was

acquitted, after Cicero's defence of him upon his trial; but all know that the monster was guilty of the most horrible ingratitude, the most infamous avarice, and the most detestable cruelty, to obtain the money of three wretches like himself. It was reserved for our times to hold up the assassination of Cicero as an act of divine justice. The triumvirs would not have dared to do it. Every age, before the present, has detested and deplored the manner of his death.

Cicero is reproached with too frequently boasting that he had saved Rome, and with being too fond of glory. But his enemies endeavoured to stain his glory. A tyrannical faction condemned him to exile, and razed his house, because he had preserved every house in Rome from the flames which Catiline had prepared for them. Men are permitted and even bound to boast of their services, when they meet with forgetfulness or ingratitude, and more particularly when they are converted into crimes.

Scipio is still admired for having answered his accusers in these words: "This is the anniversary of the day on which I vanquished Hannibal, let us go and return thanks to the gods." The whole assembly followed him to the Capitol, and our hearts follow him thither also, as we read the passage in history; though, after all, it would have been better to have delivered in his accounts, than to extricate himself from the attack by a *bon-mot*.

Cicero, in the same manner, excited the admiration of the Roman people, when, on the day in which his consulship expired, being obliged to take the customary oaths, and preparing to address the people as was usual, he was hindered by the tribune Metellus, who was desirous of insulting him. Cicero had begun with these words: "I swear"—the tribune interrupted him, and declared that he would not suffer him to make a speech. A great murmuring was heard. Cicero paused a moment, and elevating his full and melodious voice, he exclaimed, as a short substitute for his intended speech, "I swear that I have saved the country." The assembly cried out with delight and enthu-

siasm, "We swear that he has spoken the truth." That moment was the most brilliant of his life. This is the true way of loving glory.

I do not know where I have read these unknown verses:—

Romains, j'aime la gloire, et ne veux point m'en taire
Des travaux des humains c'est le digne salaire,
Ce n'est qu'en vous qu'il la faut acheter :
Qui n'ose la vouloir, n'ose la mériter. *

Romans, I own that glory I regard
Of human toil the only just reward ;
Placed in your hands th' immortal guerdon lies,
And he will ne'er deserve who slights the prize.

Can we despise Cicero, if we consider his conduct in his government of Cilicia, which was then one of the most important provinces of the Roman empire, in consequence of its contiguity to Syria and the Parthian empire. Laodicea, one of the most beautiful cities of the east, was the capital of it. This province was then as flourishing as it is at the present day degraded under the government of the Turks, who never had a Cicero.

He begins by protecting Ariobarzanes, king of Capadocia, and he refuses the presents which that king desires to make him. The Parthians come and attack Antioch in a state of perfect peace. Cicero hastily marches towards it, comes up with the Parthians by forced marches at Mount Taurus, routs them, pursues them in their retreat ; and Arsaces, their general, is slain, with a part of his army.

Thence he rushes on Pendenisum, the capital of a country in alliance with the Parthians, and takes it, and the province is reduced to submission. He instantly directs his forces against the tribes of people called Tiburanians, and defeats them, and his troops confer on him the title of Imperator, which he preserved all his life. He would have obtained the honours of a triumph at Rome if he had not been opposed by

* "Rome Saved," act v. scene 2, vol. iv.—These lines are so far from being unknown, that every Frenchman of education and taste knows them by heart.—*Note of French Editor.*

Cato, who induced the senate merely to decree public rejoicings and thanks to the gods, when, in fact, they were due to Cicero.

If we picture to ourselves the equity and disinterestedness of Cicero in his government; his activity, his affability—two virtues so rarely compatible; the benefits which he accumulated upon the people over whom he was an absolute sovereign; it will be extremely difficult to withhold from such a man our esteem.

If we reflect that this is the same man who first introduced philosophy into Rome; that his "Tusculan Questions," and his book "On the Nature of the Gods," are the two noblest works that ever were written by mere human wisdom; and that his treatise "De Officiis" is the most useful one that we possess in morals; we shall find it still more difficult to despise Cicero. We pity those who do not read him; we pity still more those who refuse to do him justice.

To the French detractor we may well oppose the lines of the Spaniard Martial, in his epigram against Anthony (book v. epig. 69, v. 7.)—

*Quid prosunt sacræ pretiosa silentia linguae?
Incipient omnes pro Cicerone loqui.*

*Why still his tongue with vengeance weak,
For Cicero all the world will speak!*

See likewise what is said by Juvenal (sat. iv. v. 244.)—

*Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.
Freed Rome, him father of his country call'd.*

CIRCUMCISION.

WHEN Herodotus narrates what he was told by the barbarians among whom he travelled, he narrates fooleries, after the manner of the greater part of travellers. Thus, it is not to be supposed that he expects to be believed in his recital of the adventure of Gyges and Candaules; of Arion, carried on the back of a dolphin; of the oracle which was consulted on what Cræsus was at the time

doing, that he was then going to dress a tortoise in a stew-pan; of Darius's horse, which, being the first out of a certain number to neigh, in fact proclaimed his master a king; and of a hundred other fables, fit to amuse children, and to be compiled by rhetoricians. But when he speaks of what he has seen, of the customs of people he has examined, of their antiquities which he has consulted, he then addresses himself to men.

"It appears," says he, in his book *Euterpe*, "that the inhabitants of Colchis sprang from Egypt. I judge so from my own observations rather than from hearsay; for I found that, at Colchis, the ancient Egyptians were more frequently recalled to my mind, than the ancient customs of Colchis were when I was in Egypt.

"These inhabitants of the shores of the Euxine sea stated themselves to be a colony founded by Sesostrius. As for myself, I should think this probable, not merely because they are dark and woolly-haired, but because the inhabitants of Colchis, Egypt, and Ethiopia, are the only people in the world who, from time immemorial, have practised circumcision: for the Phenicians, and the people of Palestine, confess that they adopted the practice from the Egyptians. The Syrians, who at present inhabit the banks of Thermodon, acknowledge that it is, comparatively, but recently that they have conformed to it. It is principally from this usage that they are considered of Egyptian origin.

"With respect to Ethiopia and Egypt, as this ceremony is of great antiquity in both nations, I cannot by any means ascertain which has derived it from the other. It is, however, probable, that the Ethiopians received it from the Egyptians; while, on the contrary, the Phenicians have abolished the practice of circumcising new-born children since the enlargement of their commerce with the Greeks."

From this passage of Herodotus it is evident, that many people had adopted circumcision from Egypt; but no nation ever pretended to have received it from the Jews. To whom, then, can we attribute the ori-

gin of this custom ; to a nation from whom five or six others acknowledge they took it, or to another nation, much less powerful, less commercial, less warlike, hid away in a corner of Arabia Petræa, and which never communicated any one of its usages to any other people ?

The Jews admit that they were, many ages since, received in Egypt out of charity. Is it not probable that the lesser people imitated a usage of the superior one, and that the Jews adopted some customs from their masters ?

Clement of Alexandria relates, that Pythagoras, when travelling among the Egyptians, was obliged to be circumcised, in order to be admitted to their mysteries. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to be circumcised, to be a priest in Egypt. Those priests existed when Joseph arrived in Egypt. The government was of great antiquity, and the ancient ceremonies of the country were observed with the most scrupulous exactness.

The Jews acknowledge, that they remained in Egypt two hundred and five years. They say that, during that period, they did not become circumcised. It is clear, then, that for two hundred and five years the Egyptians did not receive circumcision from the Jews. Would they have adopted it from them after the Jews had stolen the vessels which they had lent them, and, according to their own account, fled with their plunder into the wilderness ? Will a master adopt the principal symbol of the religion of a robbing and runaway slave ? It is not in human nature.

It is stated in the book of Joshua, that the Jews were circumcised in the wilderness. " I have delivered you from what constituted your reproach among the Egyptians." But what could this reproach be, to a people living between Phenicians, Arabians, and Egyptians, but something which rendered them contemptible to these three nations ? How effectually is that reproach removed by abstracting a small portion of the prepuce ? Must not this be considered the natural meaning of the passage ?

The book of Genesis relates, that Abraham had been circumcised before. But Abraham travelled in Egypt, which had been long a flourishing kingdom, governed by a powerful king. There is nothing to prevent the supposition that circumcision was, in this very ancient kingdom, an established usage. Moreover, the circumcision of Abraham led to no continuation; his posterity were not circumcised till the time of Joshua.

But, before the time of Joshua, the Jews, by their own acknowledgment, adopted many of the customs of the Egyptians. They imitated them in many sacrifices, in many ceremonies; as, for example, in the fasts observed on the eves of the feasts of Isis; in ablutions; in the custom of shaving the heads of the priests; in the incense, the branched candlestick, the sacrifice of the red-haired cow, the purification with hyssop, the abstinence from swine's flesh, the dread of using the kitchen utensils of foreigners; every thing testifies, that the little people of Hebrews, notwithstanding its aversion to the great Egyptian nation, had retained a vast number of the usages of its former masters. The goat Azazel, which was despatched into the wilderness laden with the sins of the people, was a visible imitation of an Egyptian practice. The rabbis are agreed, even, that the word Azazel is not Hebrew. Nothing, therefore, could exist to have prevented the Hebrews from imitating the Egyptians in circumcision, as the Arabs their neighbours did.

It is by no means extraordinary that God, who sanctified baptism, a practice so ancient among the Asiatics, should also have sanctified circumcision, not less ancient among the Africans. We have already remarked, that he has a sovereign right to attach his favours to any symbol that he chooses.

As to what remains since the time when, under Joshua, the Jewish people became circumcised, it has retained that usage down to the present day: the Arabs, also, have faithfully adhered to it: but the Egyptians, who, in the earlier ages, circumcised both their males and females, in a course of time abandoned

the practice entirely as to the latter, and at last applied it solely to priests, astrologers, and prophets. This we learn from Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. In fact, it is not clear that the Ptolemies ever received circumcision.

The Latin authors, who treat the Jews with such profound contempt as to apply to them in derision the expressions—"curtus Apella,"—"credat Judæus Apella,"—"curti Judæi,"—never apply such epithets to the Egyptians. The whole population of Egypt is at present circumcised, but for another reason than what operated formerly; namely, because Mahometanism adopted the ancient circumcision of Arabia. It is this Arabian circumcision which has extended to the Ethiopians, among whom males and females are both still circumcised.

We must acknowledge that this ceremony appears at first a very strange one; but we should remember that, from the earliest times, the oriental priests consecrated themselves to their deities by peculiar marks. An ivy leaf was indented with a graver on the priests of Bacchus. Lucian tells us, that those devoted to the goddess Isis impressed characters upon their wrist and neck. The priests of Cybele made themselves eunuchs.

It is highly probable that the Egyptians, who revered the instrument of human production, and bore its image in pomp in their processions, conceived the idea of offering to Isis and Osiris, through whom every thing on earth was produced, a small portion of ~~that~~ organ with which these deities had connected the perpetuation of the human species. Ancient oriental manners are so prodigiously different from our own, that scarcely anything will appear extraordinary to a man of even but little reading. A Parisian is excessively surprised when he is told that the Hottentots deprive their male children of one of the evidences of virility. The Hottentots are perhaps surprised that the Parisians preserve both.

CLERK—CLERGY.

THERE may be something perhaps still remaining for remark under this head, even after Du Cange's Dictionary and the Encyclopedia. We may observe, for instance, that so wonderful was the respect paid to learning about the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that a custom was introduced and followed in France, in Germany, and in England, of remitting the punishment of the halter to every condemned criminal who was able to read. So necessary to the state was every man who possessed such an extent of knowledge.

William the bastard, the conqueror of England, carried thither this custom. It was called *benefit of clergy*—"beneficium clericorum aut clericorum."

We have remarked, in more places than one, that old usages lost in other countries are found again in England, as in the island of Samothrace were discovered the ancient mysteries of Orpheus. To this day the benefit of clergy subsists among the English, in all its vigour, for manslaughter, and for any theft not exceeding a certain amount of value, and being the first offence. The prisoner who is able to read demands his "benefit of clergy," which cannot be refused him. The judge refers to the chaplain of the prison, who presents a book to the prisoner, upon which the judge puts the question to the chaplain, "*Legit?*" "Does he read?" The chaplain replies, "*Legit ut clericus,*" "He reads like a clergyman."—After this the punishment of the prisoner is restricted to the application of a hot branding iron to the palm of his hand.*

Of the Celibacy of the Clergy.

It is asked, whether, in the first ages of the church, marriage was permitted to the clergy, and when it was forbidden?

* It is scarcely necessary to advert to the alteration which has taken place since the time of Voltaire.—T.

It is unquestionable, that the clergy of the Jewish religion, far from being bound to celibacy, were, on the contrary, urged to marriage, not merely by the example of their patriarchs, but by the disgrace attached to not leaving posterity.

In the times, however, that preceded the first calamities which befel the Jews, certain sects of rigorists arose: Essenians, Judaïtes, Therapeutæ, and Herodians; in some of which, the Essenians and Therapeutæ, for examples, the most devout of the sect abstained from marriage. This continence was an imitation of the chastity of the vestals, instituted by Numa Pompilius; of the daughter of Pythagoras, who founded a convent; of the priests of Diana; of the Pythia of Delphos; and, in more remote antiquity, of the priestesses of Apollo, and even of the priestesses of Bacchus.

The priests of Cybele not only bound themselves by vows of chastity, but, to preclude the violation of their vows, became eunuchs.

Plutarch, in the eighth question of his "Table-talk," informs us, that in Egypt there are colleges of priests which renounce marriage.

The first Christians, although professing to lead a life as pure as that of the Essenians and Therapeutæ, did not consider celibacy as a virtue. We have seen that nearly all the apostles and disciples were married. St. Paul writes to Titus: "Chuse for a priest him who is the husband of one wife, having believing children, and not under accusation of dissoluteness." *

He says the same to Timothy: "Let the superintendant be the husband of one wife." †

He seems to deem so highly of marriage, that, in the same epistle to Timothy, he says: "The wife, notwithstanding her prevarication, shall be saved in child-bearing." ‡

* Epistle to Titus, chap. i.

† First Epistle to Timothy, chap. iii. v. 2.

‡ Chap. ii. v. 15.

The proceedings of the council of Nice, on the subject of married priests, deserves great attention. Some bishops, according to the relations of Sozomen and Socrates,* proposed a law commanding bishops and priests thenceforward to abstain from their wives; but St. Paphnucius the martyr, bishop of Thebes, in Egypt, strenuously opposed it; observing, "that marriage was chastity;" and the council adopted his opinion.

Suidas, Gelasius, Cesicenus, Cassiodorus, and Nicephorus Calistus, record precisely the same thing.

The council merely forbade the clergy from living with agapetæ, or female associates besides their own wives, except their mothers, sisters, aunts, and others whose age would preclude suspicion.

After that time the celibacy of the clergy was recommended, without being commanded. St. Jerome, a devout recluse, was, of all the fathers, highest in his eulogiums of the celibacy of priests; yet he resolutely supports the cause of Carterius, a Spanish bishop, who had been married twice. "Were I," says he, "to enumerate all the bishops who have entered into second nuptials, I should name as many as were present at the council of Rimini."†—"Tantus numerus congregabitur ut Riminensis synodus superetur."

The examples of clergymen married, and living with their wives, are innumerable. Sydonius, bishop of Clermont, in Auvergne, in the fifth century, married Papianilla, daughter of the emperor Avitus, and the house of Polignac claims descent from this marriage. Simplicius, bishop of Bourges, had two children by his wife Palladia.

St. Gregory of Nazianzen was the son of another Gregory, bishop of Nazianzen, and of Nonna, by whom that bishop had three children,—Cesarius, Gorgonia, and the saint.

In the Roman decretals, under the canon Osius, we find a very long list of bishops who were the sons of

* Sozom. book i.—Socrates, book i.

† Letter lxvii. to Oceanus.

priests. Pope Osius himself was the son of the sub-deacon Stephen; and pope Boniface I. son of the priest Jocondo. Pope Felix III. was the son of Felix, a priest, and was himself one of the grandfathers of Gregory the great. The priest Projectus was the father of John II.; and Gordian, the father of Agapet. Pope Sylvester was the son of pope Hormisdas. Theodore I. was born of a marriage of Theodore, patriarch of Jerusalem: a circumstance which should produce the reconciliation of the two churches.

At length, after several councils had been held without effect, on the subject of the celibacy which ought always to accompany the priesthood, pope Gregory excommunicated all married priests; either to add respectability to the church, by the greater rigour of its discipline, or to attach more closely to the court of Rome the bishops and priests of other countries, who would thus have no other family than the church.

This law was not established without great opposition.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the council of Basil, having deposed, at least nominally, pope Eugenius IV. and elected Amadeus of Savoy, many bishops, having objected against that prince that he had been married, Eneas Sylvius, who was afterwards pope, under the name of Pius II. supported the election of Amadeus in these words—"Non solum qui uxorem habuit, sed uxorem habens, potest assume."—"Not only may he be made a pope who *has been* married, but also he who *is* so."

This Pius II. was consistent. Peruse his letters to his mistress, in the collection of his works. He was convinced, that to defraud nature of her rights was absolute insanity, and that it was the duty of man not to destroy, but to control her.

However this may be, since the council of Trent there has no longer been any dispute about the celibacy of the Roman catholic clergy; there have been only desires.

All protestant communions are, on this point, in opposition to Rome.

In the Greek church, which at present extends from the frontiers of China to cape Matapan, the priests may marry once. Customs every where vary; discipline changes conformably to time and place. We here only record facts; we enter into no controversy.

Of Clerks of the Closet (Clercs du Secret), since denominated Secretaries of State and Ministers.

Clerks of the closet, clerks of the king, more recently denominated secretaries of state, in France and England, were originally the "king's notaries." They were afterwards called "secretaries of orders"—(*secrétaires des commandemens*). This we are informed of by the learned and laborious Pasquier. His authority is unquestionable, as he had under his inspection the registers of the chamber of accounts, which, in our own times, have been destroyed by fire.

At the unfortunate peace of Chateau Cambresis, a clerk of Philip II. having taken the title of secretary of state, L'Aubepine, who was secretary of orders to the king of France, and his notary, took that title likewise, that the honours of both might be equal, whatever might be the case with their emoluments.

In England, before the reign of Henry VIII. there was only one secretary of the king, who stood while he presented memorials and petitions to the council; Henry VIII. appointed two, and conferred on them the same titles and prerogatives as in Spain. The great nobles did not, at that period, accept these situations; but, in time, they have become of so much consequence, that peers of the realm and commanders of armies are now invested with them. Thus every thing changes. There is at present no relic in France of the government of Hugh Capet, nor in England of the administration of William the bastard.

CLIMATE.

It is certain that the sun and atmosphere mark their empire on all the productions of nature, from man to mushrooms.

In the grand age of Louis XIV. the ingenious Fontenelle remarked:

"One might imagine that the torrid and two frigid zones are not well suited to the sciences. Down to the present day, they have not travelled beyond Egypt and Mauritania, on the one side, nor on the other beyond Sweden. Perhaps it is not owing to mere chance that they are retained within Mount Atlas and the Baltic Sea. We know not whether these may not be the limits appointed to them by nature, or whether we may ever hope to see great authors among Laplanders or negroes."

Chardin, one of those travellers who reason and investigate, goes still farther than Fontenelle, when speaking of Persia.* "The temperature of warm climates," says he, "enervates the mind as well as the body, and dissipates that fire which the imagination requires for invention. In such climates men are incapable of the long studies and intense application which are necessary to the production of first-rate works in the liberal and mechanic arts," &c.

Chardin did not consider that Sadi and Lokman were Persians. He did not recollect that Archimedes belonged to Sicily, where the heat is greater than in three-fourths of Persia. He forgot that Pythagoras formerly taught geometry to the Brahmins.

The abbé Dubos supported and developed, as well as he was able, the opinion of Chardin.

One hundred and fifty years before them, Bodin made it the foundation of his system, in his "Republic" and in his "Method of History;" he asserts that the influence of climate is the principle both of the government and the religion of nations.

Diodorus of Sicily was of the same opinion long before Bodin.

The author of the "Spirit of Laws,"† without quoting any authority, carried this idea farther than Chardin and Bodin. A certain part of the nation believed him to have first suggested it, and imputed it to him

* Chardin, chap. vii.

† Book xiv.

as a crime. This was quite in character with that part of the nation alluded to. There are everywhere men who possess more zeal than understanding.

We might ask those who maintain that climate does everything, why the emperor Julian, in his *Misopogon*, says, that what pleased him in the Parisians, was the gravity of their characters and the severity of their manners; and why these Parisians, without the slightest change of climate, are now like playful children at whom the government punishes and smiles at the same moment, and who themselves, the moment after, also smile and sing lampoons upon their masters.

Why are the Egyptians, who are described as having been still more grave than the Parisians, at present the most lazy, frivolous, and cowardly of people, after having, as we are told, conquered the whole world for their pleasure, under a king called Sesostris?

Why are there no longer Anacreons, Aristotles, or Zeuxises at Athens?

Whence comes it that Rome, instead of its Ciceros, Catos, and Livys, has merely citizens who dare not speak their minds, and a brutalized populace, whose supreme happiness consists in having oil cheap, and in gazing at processions?

Cicero, in his letters, is occasionally very jocular upon the English. He desires his brother Quintus, Cæsar's lieutenant, to inform him whether he has found any great philosophers among them, in his expedition to Britain. He little suspected that that country would one day produce mathematicians whom he could not understand. Yet the climate has not at all changed, and the sky of London is as cloudy now as it was then.

Every thing changes, both in bodies and minds, by time. Perhaps the Americans will in some future period cross the sea to instruct Europeans in the arts.

Climate has some influence, government a hundred times more; religion and government combined, more still.

Influence of Climate.

Climate influences religion in respect to ceremonies and usages. A legislator could have experienced no difficulty in inducing the Indians to bathe in the Ganges at certain appearances of the moon; it is a high gratification to them. Had any one proposed a like bath to the people who inhabit the banks of the Dwina, near Archangel, he would have been stoned. Forbid pork to an Arab, who after eating this species of animal food (the most miserable and disgusting in his own country) would be affected by leprosy, he will obey you with joy; prohibit it to a Westphalian, and he will be tempted to knock you down.

Abstinence from wine is a good precept of religion in Arabia, where orange, citron, and lemon waters are necessary to health. Mahomet would not have forbidden wine in Switzerland, especially before going to battle.

There are usages merely fanciful. Why did the priests of Egypt devise circumcision? It was not for the sake of health. Cambyzes, who treated as they deserved both them and their bull Apis, the courtiers of Cambyzes, and his soldiers, enjoyed perfectly good health without any such mutilation. Climate has no peculiar influence over this particular portion of the person of a priest. The offering in question was made to Isis, probably on the same principle as the firstlings of the fruits of the earth were everywhere offered. It was typical of an offering of the first fruits of life.

Religions have always turned upon two pivots,—forms or ceremonies, and faith; forms and ceremonies depend much on climate; faith not at all. A doctrine will be received with equal facility under the equator or near the pole. It will be afterwards equally rejected at Batavia and the Orcades, while it will be maintained, *unguibus et rostro*—with tooth and nail—at Salamanca. This depends not on sun and atmosphere, but solely upon opinion, that fickle empress of the world.

Certain libations of wine will be naturally enjoined

in a country abounding in vineyards; and it would never occur to the mind of any legislator to institute sacred mysteries, which could not be celebrated without wine, in such a country as Norway.

It will be expressly commanded to burn incense in the court of a temple where beasts are killed in honour of the divinity, and for the priests' supper. This slaughter-house, called a temple, would be a place of abominable infection, if it were not continually purified; and without the use of aromatics, the religion of the ancients would have introduced the plague. The interior of the temple was even festooned with flowers to sweeten the air.

The cow will not be sacrificed in the burning territory of the Indian peninsula, because it supplies the necessary article of milk, and is very rare in arid and barren districts, and because its flesh, being dry and tough, and yielding but little nourishment, would afford the Brahmins but miserable cheer. On the contrary, the cow will be considered sacred, in consequence of its rareness and utility.

The temple of Jupiter Ammon, where the heat is excessive, will be entered only with bare feet. To perform his devotions at Copenhagen, a man requires his feet to be warm and well covered.

It is not thus with doctrine. Polytheism has been believed in all climates; and it is equally easy for a Crim Tartar and an inhabitant of Mecca to acknowledge one only incommunicable God, neither begotten nor begetting. It is by doctrine, more than by rites, that a religion extends from one climate to another. The doctrine of the unity of God passed rapidly from Medina to Mount Caucasus. Climate, then, yields to opinion.

The Arabs said to the Turks: "We practised the ceremony of circumcision in Arabia without very well knowing why. It was an ancient usage of the priests of Egypt to offer to Oshiret, or Osiris, a small portion of what they considered most valuable. We had adopted this custom three thousand years before we became Mahometans. You will become circumcised

like us; you will bind yourselves to sleep with one of your wives every Friday, and to give two and a half per cent. of your income annually to the poor. We drink nothing but water and sherbet: all intoxicating liquors are forbidden us. In Arabia they are pernicious. You will embrace the same regimen, although you should be passionately fond of wine; and even although, on the banks of the Phases and Araxes, it should often be necessary for you. In short, if you wish to go to heaven, and to obtain good places there, you will take the road through Mecca."

The inhabitants north of the Caucasus subject themselves to these laws, and adopt, in its fullest extent, a religion which was never framed for them.

In Egypt the emblematical worship of animals succeeded to the doctrines of Thaut. The gods of the Romans afterwards shared Egypt with the dogs, the cats, and the crocodiles. To the Roman religion succeeded Christianity; that was completely banished by Mahometanism, which will perhaps be superseded by some new religion.

In all these changes climate has effected nothing; government has done everything. We are here considering only second causes, without raising our unhallowed eyes to that Providence which directs them. The Christian religion, which received its birth in Syria, and grew up towards its fullness of stature in Alexandria, inhabits now those countries where Teutat and Irminsul, Freya and Odin, were formerly adored.

There are some nations whose religion is not the result either of climate or of government. What cause detached the north of Germany, Denmark, three parts of Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the Romish communion?—Poverty. Indulgences, and deliverance from purgatory for the souls of those whose bodies were at that time in possession of very little money, were sold too dear. The prelates and monks absorbed the whole revenue of a province. People adopted a cheaper religion. In short, after numerous civil wars, it was concluded that the pope's religion was a good one for nobles, and

the reformed for citizens. Time will show whether the religion of the Greeks or of the Turks will prevail on the coasts of the Euxine and Ægean seas.

COHERENCE—COHESION—ADHESION:

THE power by which the parts of bodies are kept together. It is a phenomenon the most common, but the least understood. Newton derides the hooked atoms, by means of which it has been attempted to explain coherence; for it still remained to be known why they are hooked, and why they cohere. He treats with no greater respect those who have explained cohesion by rest. "It is," says he, "an occult quality."

He has recourse to an attraction. But is not this attraction, which may indeed exist, but is by no means capable of demonstration, itself an occult quality? The grand attraction of the heavenly bodies is demonstrated and calculated. That of adhering bodies is incalculable. But how can we admit a force that is immeasurable to be of the same nature as one that can be measured?

Nevertheless, it is demonstrated that the force of attraction acts upon all the planets and all heavy bodies, in proportion to their solidity; but it acts, therefore, on all the particles of matter; it is therefore very probable that, while it exists in every part in reference to the whole, it exists also in every part in reference to cohesion: coherence, therefore, may be the effect of attraction.

This opinion appears admissible till a better can be found, and that better is not easily to be met with.*

* This wholly physical question, for difficulty, may be compared to the partly metaphysical one of the principle of the connexion between mind and body. Both should at once be deemed beyond the province of human knowledge, and consequently of practical philosophy. As materials for imagination, musing, and German mysticism, they may occupy a share of attention; but in every other point of view, it would be as rational to occupy our mortal span of leisure with cups and balls. Sir Isaac Newton has discovered certain laws which regulate motion, and the mutual dependency of bodies, the principal of which he calls attraction. Other persons dislike this word; and certainly

COMMERCE.

SINCE the fall of Carthage, no people had been powerful in commerce and arms at the same time, until Venice set the example. The Portuguese having passed the Cape of Good Hope, were, for some time

“a rose, by any other name, would smell as sweet:” but what is the use of finding fault with the name, when the substitution of another makes no alteration in the thing? Newton’s merit lies in the discovery of the law, not in the name which he bestows on the source of it. With respect to coherence or cohesion, it is probably a breach of the great principle called attraction; but we shall never know anything beyond the laws by which it is, in particular instances, governed. Thus, our knowledge of chemical affinities may every day improve; but to know that A is more disposed to unite with B than with C, is not to know why it is thus disposed, and still less to discover the general principle of cohesion. Possibly, nothing is more essential, in sound education, than to lay down with precision the real boundaries of human science. Why it is not more precisely done where it ought most to be done, is no riddle; but certainly nothing would prevent a greater waste of intellect. There are writers, to be sure, who place men who dream before those who detect and discover—Plato and Herder, before the father of experimental philosophy and all his offspring. The former, it seems, are the men of positive knowledge, the latter merely detectors of their errors; it being conveniently taken for granted, that all which is not absolutely overthrown is purely true; that is to say, if the experimentalist cannot prove a *negative*, the dreams are correct. People must swallow a great deal of opium to admit this, even from the first of all scholastic logicians. The *nil admirari* of this sect is extraordinary: it can see nothing grand in the vast development of facts and consequences which spring from the school of experiment; a school in which all men may be made scholars; which finds employment for every grade of intellect, and produces an aggregate from *universal* mind. All this is minor, subordinate, and *negative*, the great *positive* being represented by the resplendent personages who extract everything from the storehouse of their own imagination, in the concoction of which they sit brooding, like so many monks of Mount Tabor, who elicited the holy spirit from an intense contemplation of their own navels. There is probably some asperity in this note; but the small fry of the class alluded to are becoming unbearable; and a brief protest cannot be out of place in a publication which anglicises the manly labours of a Voltaire in the great cause of general intellectual improvement and social amelioration,—a vulgar final cause, which is utterly beneath them.—T.

great lords on the coast of India, and ever formidable in Europe. The United Provinces have only been warriors in spite of themselves; and it was not as united between themselves, but as united with England, that they assisted to hold the balance of Europe at the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Carthage, Venice, and Amsterdam, have been powerful; but they have acted like those people among us, who, having amassed money by trade, buy lordly estates. Neither Carthage, Venice, Holland, nor any people, have commenced by being warriors and even conquerors, to finish by being merchants. The English only answer this description: they had fought a long time before they knew how to reckon. They did not know, when they gained the battle of Agincourt, Cressy, and Poitiers, that they were able to deal largely in corn, and fabricate broad cloth, which would be of much more value to them than such victories. The knowledge of these arts alone has augmented, enriched, and strengthened the nation. It is only because the English have become merchants, that London exceeds Paris in extent and number of citizens; that they can spread two hundred ships of war over the seas, and keep royal allies in pay.

When Louis XIV. made Italy tremble, and his armies, already masters of Savoy and Piedmont, were ready to take Turin, prince Eugene was obliged to march to the skirts of Germany, to the succour of the duke of Savoy. Having no money, without which he could neither take nor defend towns, he had recourse to the English merchants. In half an hour they advanced him the sum of five millions (of livres), with which he delivered Turin, beat the French, and wrote this little billet to those who had lent it him: "Gentlemen, I have received your money, and I flatter myself that I have employed it to your satisfaction." All this excites just pride in an English merchant, and makes him venture to compare himself, and not without reason, to a Roman citizen. Thus the younger sons of a peer of the realm disdain not to be merchants. Lord Townsend, minister of state, had a

brother who was contented with being a merchant in the city. At the time that lord Orford governed England, his younger brother was a factor at Aleppo, whence he would not return, and where he died. This custom, which, however, begins to decline, appeared monstrous to the petty German princes. They could not conceive how the son of a peer of England was only a rich and powerful trader, while in Germany they are all princes. We have seen nearly thirty highnesses of the same name, having nothing for their fortunes but old armouries and aristocratical hauteur. In France, anybody may be a marquis that likes; and whoever arrives at Paris from a remote province, with money to spend, and a name ending in *ac* or *ille*, may say—"A man like me!" "A man of my quality!" and sovereignly despise a merchant; while the merchant so often hears his profession spoken of with disdain, that he is weak enough to blush at it. Which is the most useful to a state—a well-powdered lord, who knows precisely at what hour the king rises and retires, and who gives himself airs of greatness, while playing the part of a slave in the anti-chamber of a minister; or a merchant, who enriches his country, sends orders from his closet to Surat and Aleppo, and contributes to the happiness of the world?*

COMMON SENSE.

THERE is sometimes in vulgar expressions an image of what passes in the heart of all men. "*Sensus communis*" signified among the Romans not only common sense, but also humanity and sensibility. As we are not equal to the Romans, this word with us conveys not half what it did with them. It signifies only good

* This article is scarcely necessary for the English reader; but it is retained, like many others, to illustrate the universal attention of Voltaire, and the salutary nature of his ridicule. The revolution swept away the insects here described, which, like other vermin, absolutely sunk the ship of the state, by their numbers, and minute but pernicious labours. A remnant, however, have survived to return, and are at work as mischievously as ever.—T.

sense—plain, strait-forward reasoning—the first notion of ordinary things—a medium between dullness and intellect. To say, “That man has not common sense,” is a gross insult; while the expression, “That man has common sense,” is an affront also; it would imply, that he was not quite stupid, but that he wanted intellect. But what is the meaning of common sense, if it be not sense? Men, when they invented this term, supposed that nothing entered the mind except by the senses; otherwise would they have used the word sense to signify the result of the common faculty of reason?

It is said, sometimes, that common sense is very rare. What does this expression mean? That in many men dawning reason is arrested in its progress by some prejudices; that a man who judges very reasonably on one affair will deceive himself grossly in another. The Arab, who, besides being a good calculator, was a learned chemist and an exact astronomer, nevertheless believed that Mahomet put half of the moon into his sleeve.

How is it that he was so much above common sense in the three sciences above mentioned, and beneath it when he proceeded to the subject of half the moon? It is because, in the first case, he had seen with his own eyes, and perfected his own intelligence; and, in the second, he had used the eyes of others, by shutting his own, and perverting the common sense within him.

How could this strange perversion of mind operate? How could the ideas which had so regular and firm a footing in his brain, on many subjects, halt on another a thousand times more palpable and easy to comprehend? This man had always the same principles of intelligence in him; he must have therefore possessed a vitiated organ, as it sometimes happens that the most delicate epicure has a depraved taste in regard to a particular species of nourishment.

How did the organ of this Arab, who saw half of the moon in Mahomet's sleeve, become disordered?—By fear. It had been told him, that if he did not believe in this sleeve, his soul, immediately after his death, in passing over the narrow bridge, would fall for ever into

the abyss. He was told much worse—if ever you doubt this sleeve, one dervise will treat you with ignominy; another will prove you mad, because having all possible motives for credibility, you will not submit your superb reason to evidence; a third will refer you to the little divan of a small province, and you will be legally impaled.

All this produces a panic in the good Arab, his wife, sister, and all his little family. They possess good sense in all the rest, but on this article their imagination is diseased like that of Pascal, who continually saw a precipice near his couch. But did our Arab really believe in the sleeve of Mahomet? No; he endeavoured to believe it; he said, "It is impossible, but true—I believe that which I do not credit." He formed a chaos of ideas in his head, in regard to this sleeve, which he feared to disentangle; and he gave up his common sense.*

CONFESSION.

REPENTANCE for one's faults is the only thing that can repair the loss of innocence: and to appear to repent of them, we must begin by acknowledging them. Confession, therefore, is almost as ancient as civil society.

Confession was practised in all the mysteries of Egypt, Greece, and Samothrace. We are told, in the life of Marcus Aurelius, that when he deigned to participate in the Eleusinian mysteries, he confessed him-

* This is a very amusing article, and pleasantly explanatory of the very different nature of the two kinds of belief which prevail among mankind. Nothing is more common than to call upon human beings to believe that Mahomet put half of the moon into his sleeve—or stories very similar; and decorating the same evidence with the name of religious principle, sapiently to observe that there is no other foundation for the whole code of morality. Certain Indians, it is said, place the world on the back of an elephant; and being questioned for the footing of the latter, gravely answer, that he is upheld by the back of a tortoise. Heaven help poor human nature, if Providence had not provided a better *terra firma* for the moral duties!—T.

self to the hierophant; though no man had less need of confession than himself.

This might be a very salutary ceremony; it might also become very detrimental; for such is the case with all human institutions. We know the answer of the Spartan whom an hierophant would have persuaded to confess himself: "To whom should I acknowledge my faults?—to God, or to thee?" "To God," said the priest.—"Retire then, O man."^{*}

It is hard to determine at what time this practice was established among the Jews, who borrowed a great many of their rites from their neighbours. The Mishna, which is the collection of the Jewish laws, says, that often, in confessing, they placed their hand upon a calf belonging to the priest;† and this was called "the confession of calves."

It is said in the same Mishna, that every culprit under sentence of death went and confessed himself before witnesses, in some retired spot, a short time before his execution. If he felt himself guilty, he said, "May my death atone for all my sins!" If innocent, he said, "May my death atone for all my sins! excepting that of which I am now accused."[‡]

On the day of the feast which was called by the Jews *the solemn atonement*,§ the devout among them confessed to one another, specifying their sins. The confessor repeated three times thirteen words of the seventy-seventh psalm, at the same time giving the confessed thirty-nine stripes, which the latter returned, and they went away quits. It is said that this ceremony is still in use.

St. John's reputation for sanctity brought crowds to confess to him, as they came to be baptised by him with the baptism of justice: but we are not informed that St. John gave his penitents thirty-nine stripes.

Confession was not then a sacrament; for this there are several reasons.—The first is, that the word sacra-

* Plutarch—Remarkable Sayings of the Lacedemonians.

† Mishna, tom. ii. p. 394.

‡ Tom. iv. p. 134.

§ Jewish Synagogue, chap. xxxv.

ment was at that time unknown; which reason is of itself sufficient. The Christians took their confession from the Jewish rites, and not from the mysteries of Isis and Ceres. The Jews confessed to their associates, and the Christians did so too. It afterwards appeared more convenient that this should be the privilege of the priests. No rite, no ceremony, can be established, but in process of time. It was hardly possible that some trace should not remain of the ancient usage of the laity of confessing to one another.

In Constantine's reign, it was at first the practice publicly to confess public offences.

In the fifth century, after the schism of Novatus and Novatian, penitentiaries were instituted for the absolution of such as had fallen into idolatry. This confession to penitentiary priests was abolished under the emperor Theodosius.* A woman having accused herself aloud, to the penitentiary of Constantinople, of lying with the deacon, this indiscretion caused so much scandal and disturbance throughout the city,† that Nectarius permitted all the faithful to approach the holy table without confession, and to communicate in obedience to their consciences alone. Hence these words of St. John Chrysostom, who succeeded Nectarius: "Confess yourselves continually to God; I do not bring you forward on a stage, to discover your faults to your fellow-servants; show your wounds to God, and ask of him their cure; acknowledge your sins to him who will not reproach you before men; it were vain to strive to hide them from him who knows all things," &c.

It is said that the practice of auricular confession did not begin in the west until about the seventh century, when it was instituted by the abbots, who required their monks to come and acknowledge their offences to them twice a year. These abbots it was who invented the formula—"I absolve thee to the utmost of

* Socrates, book v. and Sozomen, book vii.

† The Wesleyan methodists confess to one another, and consequently run the risk of public exposures like the above; which, if they ever happen, must be very startling.—T.

my power and thy need." It would surely have been more respectful towards the Supreme Being, as well as more just, to say, " May he forgive both thy faults and mine!"

The good which confession has done is, that it has sometimes procured restitution from petty thieves. The ill is, that, in the internal troubles of states, it has sometimes forced the penitents to be conscientiously rebellious and bloodthirsty. The Guelph priests refused absolution to the Ghibelines, and the Ghibelines to the Guelphs.

The counsellor of state Lénét relates, in his *Memoirs*, that all he could do in Burgundy to make the people rise in favour of the prince of Condé, detained at Vincennes by cardinal Mazarine, was, " to let loose the priests in the confessionals"—speaking of them as blood-hounds, who were to fan the flame of civil war in the privacy of the confessional.

At the siege of Barcelona, the monks refused absolution to all who remained faithful to Philip V.

In the last revolution at Genoa, it was intimated to all consciences, that there was no salvation for whosoever should not take up arms against the Austrians.

This salutary remedy has in every age been converted into a poison. Whether a Sforza, a Medicis, a prince of Orange, or a king of France was to be assassinated, the parricide always prepared himself by the sacrament of confession.

Louis XI. and the marchioness de Brinvilliers always confessed as soon as they had committed any great crime; and they confessed often, as gluttons take medicines to increase their appetite.

The Disclosure of Confessions.

Jaurigni and Balthazar Gérard, the assassins of William I. prince of Orange, the dominican Jacques Clément, Jean Châtel, the Feuillant Ravailhac, and all the other parricides of that day, confessed themselves before committing their crimes. Fanaticism, in those deplorable ages, had arrived at such a pitch, that confession was but an additional pledge for the consum-

nation of villainy. It became sacred, for this reason—that confession is a sacrament.

Strada himself says: “Jaurigni non antè facinus aggredi sustinuit, quàm expiatam noxis animam apud Dominicanum sacerdotem cœlesti pane firmaverit.”—“Jaurigni did not venture upon this act until he had purged his soul by confession at the feet of a Dominican, and fortified it by the celestial bread.”

We find, in the interrogatory of Ravallac, that the wretched man, quitting the Feuillans and wishing to be received among the jesuits, applied to the jesuit D'Aubigni, and, after speaking of several apparitions that he had seen, showed him a knife, on the blade of which were engraven a heart and a cross, and said, “This heart indicates that the king's heart must be brought to make war upon the Hugunots.”

Perhaps, if this D'Aubigni had been zealous and prudent enough to have informed the king of these words, and given him a faithful picture of the man who had uttered them, the best of kings would not have been assassinated.

On the 20th of August, 1610, three months after the death of Henry IV., whose wounds yet bleed in the heart of every Frenchman, the advocate-general Servin, still of illustrious memory, required that the jesuits should be made to sign the four following articles:—

1. That the council is above the pope.
2. That the pope cannot deprive the king of any of his rights by excommunication.
3. That ecclesiastics, like other persons, are entirely subject to the king.
4. That a priest who is made acquainted, by confession, with a conspiracy against the king and the state, must disclose it to the magistrates.

On the 22d, the parliament passed a decree, by which it forbade the jesuits to instruct youth before they had signed these four articles; but the court of Rome was then so powerful, and that of France so feeble, that this decree was of no effect.

A fact worthy of attention is, that this same court of Rome, which did not choose that confession should

be disclosed when the lives of sovereigns were endangered, obliged its confessors to denounce to the inquisitors those whom their female penitents accused in confession of having seduced and abused them.* Paul IV., Pius IV., Clement VIII., and Gregory XV. ordered these disclosures to be made.†

This was a very embarrassing snare for confessors and female penitents; it was making the sacrament a register of informations, and even of sacrileges. For, by the ancient canons, and especially by the council of Lateran under Innocent III., every priest that disclosed a confession, of what nature soever, was to be interdicted and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

But this is not the worst: here are four popes, of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, ordering the disclosure of a sin of impurity, but not permitting that of a parricide. A woman, in the sacrament, declares or pretends before a carmelite, that a cordelier has seduced her; and the carmelite must denounce the cordelier. A fanatical assassin, thinking that he serves God by killing his prince, comes and consults a confessor on this case of conscience; and the confessor commits a sacrilege if he saves his sovereign's life.

This absurd and horrible contradiction is one unfortunate consequence of the constant opposition existing for so many centuries between the civil and the ecclesiastical laws. The citizen finds himself, on fifty occasions, placed without alternative between sacrilege and high treason. The rules of good and evil being not yet drawn from beneath the chaos under which they have so long been buried.

The jesuit Coton's reply to Henry IV. will endure longer than his order. Would you reveal the confession of a man who had resolved to assassinate me? "No; but I would throw myself betwixt him and you."

Father Coton's maxim has not always been followed.

* This is pleasant enough; possibly their holinesses might be suspected of a little liking to the detail.—T.

† The constitution of Gregory XV. is dated August 30, 1622.—See the jesuit D'Arrigui's "*Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*;" or consult the "*Bullaire*."

In some countries there are state mysteries unknown to the public, of which revealed confessions form no inconsiderable part. By means of suborned confessors the secrets of prisoners are learned. Some confessors, to reconcile their conscience with their interest, make use of a singular artifice. They give an account, not precisely of what the prisoner has told them, but of what he has not told them. If, for example, they are employed to find out whether an accused person has for his accomplice a Frenchman or an Italian, they say to the man who employs them, the prisoner has sworn to me that no Italian was informed of his designs; whence it is concluded that the suspected Frenchman is guilty.

Bodin thus expresses himself, in his book *de la République*: "Nor must it be concealed, if the culprit is discovered to have conspired against the life of the sovereign, or even to have willed it only; as in the case of a gentleman of Normandy, who confessed to a monk that he had had a mind to kill Francis I. The monk apprised the king, who sent the gentleman to the court of parliament, where he was condemned to death; as I learned from M. Canage, an advocate in parliament."*

The writer of this article was himself almost witness to a disclosure still more important and singular.

It is known how the jesuit Daubenton betrayed Philip V. king of Spain, to whom he was confessor. He thought, from a very mistaken policy, that he ought to report the secrets of his penitent to the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, and had the imprudence to write to him what he ought not, even verbally, to communicate to any one. The duke of Orleans sent his letter to the king of Spain: the jesuit was discarded, and died a short time after. This is an authenticated fact.†

It is still a grave and perplexing question, in what cases confessions should be disclosed. For, if we de-

* Book iv. chap. vii.

† See the "Précis du Siècle de Louis XV." p. 12.

cide that it should be in cases of human high treason, this treason may be made to include any direct offence against majesty, even the smuggling of salt or muslins. Much more should high treasons against the Divine Majesty be disclosed; and these may be extended to the smallest faults, as having missed evening service.

It would, then, be very important to come to a perfect understanding about what confessions should be disclosed, and what should be kept secret. Yet would such a decision be very dangerous: for how many things are there which must not be investigated!

Pontas, who, in three folio volumes, decides on all the possible cases of conscience in France, and is unknown to the rest of the world, says, that on no occasion should confession be disclosed. The parliaments have decided the contrary. Which are we to believe? Pontas, or the guardians of the laws of the realm, who watch over the lives of princes and the safety of the state?*

Whether Laymen and Women have been Confessors?

As, in the old law, the laity confessed to one another; so, in the new law, they long had the same privilege by custom. In proof of this, let it suffice to cite the celebrated Joinville, who expressly says, that "the constable of Cyprus confessed himself to him, and he gave him absolution, according to the right which he had so to do."

St. Thomas, in his dream, expresses himself thus: "Confessio ex defectu sacerdotis laico facta, sacramentalis est quodam modo"—"Confession made to a

* It is not quite certain that Voltaire has proved Pontas to be wrong; but he has clearly proved the monstrous iniquity and priestcraft in confession altogether. Even the mutual confession and detailed experiences of the methodists and others, ought to inspire the most confirmed disgust. Both as prostrating the flock before the pastor, and as burning equivocal impressions and impurities into susceptible minds, it is the most mischievous of practices. Females more particularly should reason like the Spartan.—T.

layman, in default of a priest, is in some sort sacramental.”*

We find in the life of St. Burgundosarius,† and in the rule of an unknown saint, that the nuns confessed their very grossest sins to their abess. The rule of St. Donatus ordains that the nuns shall discover their faults to their superior three times a day.‡ The capitulars of our kings say,§ that abbesses must be forbidden the exercise of the right which they have arrogated, against the custom of the holy church, of giving benedictions, and imposing hands, which seems to signify the pronouncing of absolution, and supposes the confession of sins. Marcus, patriarch of Alexandria, asks Balzamon, a celebrated canonist of his time, whether permission should be granted to abbesses to hear confessions, to which Balzamon answers in the negative. We have, in the canon law, a decree of pope Innocent III., enjoining the bishops of Valentia and Burgos, in Spain, to prevent certain abbesses from blessing their nuns, from confessing, and from public preaching:—“Although,” says he, “the blessed Virgin Mary was superior to all the apostles in dignity and in merit, yet it is not to her, but to the apostles, that the Lord has confided the keys of the kingdom of heaven.”||

So ancient was this right, that we find it established in the rules of St. Basil.¶ He permits abbesses to confess their nuns, conjointly with a priest.

Father Martène, in his Rites of the Church,** allows that, for a long time, abbesses confessed their nuns; but, adds he, they were so *curious*,†† that it was found necessary to deprive them of this privilege.

* Part iii. p. 255. Lyons edition, 1738.

† Mabillon, chap. viii., xiii.

‡ Chap. xxiii.

§ Book i. chap. lxxvi.

|| C. Nova X.—Extra de pœnit. et remiss.

¶ Tom. ii. p. 453.

** Tom. iii. p. 39.

†† The multifarious questions of a prying lady abess must have been as alarming to the poor nuns, as the eighty-three queries of bishop Marsh to a candidate for orders in the diocese of Peterborough.—T.

The ex-jesuit Nonotte ought to confess himself and do penance ; not for having been of the most ignorant of the daubers on paper, for that is no crime ; not for having given the name of *errors* to truths which he did not understand ; but for having, with the most insolent stupidity, calumniated the author of this article, and called his brother *raca* (a fool), while he denied these facts and many others, about which he knew not one word. He has put himself in danger of hell fire : let us hope that he will ask pardon of God for his enormous folly. We desire not the death of the sinner, but that he turn from his wickedness and live.

It has long been debated why men, very famous in this part of the world where confession is in use, have died without that sacrament. Such are Leo X., Péliisson, and cardinal Dubois.

The cardinal had his perineum opened by La Peyronie's bistoury ; but he might have confessed and communicated before the operation.

Péliisson, who was a protestant until he was forty years old, became a convert that he might be made master of requests and have benefices.

As for pope Leo X., when surprised by death, he was so much occupied with temporal concerns, that he had no time to think of spiritual ones.

Confession Tickets.

In protestant countries, confession is made to God ; in catholic ones, to man. The protestants say, you can hide nothing from God, whereas man knows only what you chuse to tell him. As we shall never meddle with controversy, we shall not enter here into this old dispute. Our literary society is composed of catholics and protestants, united by the love of letters : we must not suffer ecclesiastical quarrels to sow dissension amongst us.

We will content ourselves with once more repeating the fine answer of the Greek already mentioned, to the priest who would have had him confess in the mysteries of Ceres : " Is it to God, or to thee, that I am

to address myself?"—"To God."—"Depart then, O man."

In Italy, and in all the countries of obedience, every one, without distinction, must confess and communicate. If you have a stock of enormous sins on hand, you have also grand penitentiaries to absolve you. If your confession is worth nothing, so much the worse for you. At a very reasonable rate, you get a printed receipt, which admits you to communion; and all the receipts are thrown into a pix: such is the rule.

These bearers' tickets were unknown at Paris until about the year 1750, when an archbishop of Paris be-thought himself of introducing a sort of spiritual bank, to extirpate Jansenism and ensure the triumph of the bull *Unigenitus*. It was his pleasure that extreme unction and the viaticum should be refused to every sick person who did not produce a ticket of confession, signed by a constitutional priest.

This was refusing the sacrament to nine-tenths of Paris. In vain was he told: "Think what you are doing: either these sacraments are necessary, to escape damnation; or salvation may be obtained without them, by faith, hope, charity, good works, and the merits of our Saviour. If salvation be attainable without this viaticum, your tickets are useless: if the sacraments be absolutely necessary, you damn all whom you deprive of them; you consign to eternal fire seven hundred thousand souls, supposing you live long enough to bury them:—this is violent: calm yourself, and let each one die as well as he can."

In this dilemma he gave no answer, but persisted. It is horrible to convert religion, which should be man's consolation, into his torment. The parliament, in whose hands is the high police, finding that society was disturbed, opposed (according to custom) decrees to mandaments. But ecclesiastical discipline would not yield to legal authority. The magistracy were under the necessity of using force, and to send archers to obtain for the Parisians confession, communion, and interment.

By this excess of absurdity, men's minds were soured;

and cabals were formed at court, as if there had been a farmer-general to be appointed, or a minister to be disgraced. In the discussion of a question, there are always incidents mixed up which have no radical connection with it; and in this case so much so, that all the members of the parliament were exiled, as was also the archbishop in his turn.

These confession tickets would, in the times preceding, have occasioned a civil war; but happily, in our days, they produced only civil cavils. The spirit of philosophy, which is no other than reason, has become, with all honest men, the only antidote against these epidemic disorders.

CONFISCATION.

It is well observed, in the Dictionnaire Encyclopédique, in the article CONFISCATION, that the *fisc*, whether public, or royal, or seignórial, or imperial, or disloyal, was a small basket of reeds or osiers, in which was put the little money that was received or could be extorted. We now use bags: the royal *fisc* is the royal bag.

In several countries of Europe it is a received maxim, that whosoever confiscates the body, confiscates the goods also. This usage is established in those countries in particular where custom holds the place of law; and in all cases, an entire family is punished for the fault of one man only.

To confiscate the body, is not to put a man's body into his sovereign lord's basket: this phrase, in the barbarous language of the bar, means to get possession of the body of a citizen, in order either to take away his life, or to condemn him to banishment for life. If he is put to death, or escapes death by flight, his goods are seized.

Thus it is not enough to put a man to death for his offences; his children, too, must be deprived of the means of living.

In more countries than one, the rigour of custom confiscates the property of a man who has voluntarily

released himself from the miseries of this life, and his children are reduced to beggary because their father is dead.

In some Roman catholic provinces, the head of a family is condemned to the galleys for life, by an arbitrary sentence, for having harboured a preacher in his house, or for having heard one of his sermons in some cavern or desert place,* and his wife and family are forced to beg their bread.

This jurisprudence, which consists in depriving orphans of their food, was unknown to the Roman commonwealth. Sylla introduced it in his proscriptions; and it must be acknowledged that a rapine invented by Sylla was not an example to be followed. Nor was this law, which seems to have been dictated by inhumanity and avarice alone, followed either by Cæsar, or by the good emperor Trajan, or by the Antonines, whose names are still pronounced in every nation with love and reverence. Even under Justinian, confiscations took place only in cases of high treason: Those who were accused having been, for the most part, men of great possessions, it seems that Justinian made this ordinance through avarice alone. It also appears that, in the times of feudal anarchy, the princes and lords of lands, being not very rich, sought to increase their treasure by the condemnation of their subjects. They were allowed to draw a revenue from crime. Their laws being arbitrary, and the Roman jurisprudence unknown among them, their customs, whether whimsical or cruel, prevailed. But now that the power of sovereigns is founded on immense and assured wealth, their treasure needs no longer to be swelled by the slender wreck of the fortunes of some unhappy family. It is true that the goods so appropriated are usually abandoned to the first who asks for them. But is it for one citizen to fatten on the remains of the blood of another citizen?

Confiscation is not admitted in countries where the

* See the edict of May 14, 1724, published at the solicitation of cardinal de Fleuri, and revised by him.

Roman law is established, except within the jurisdiction of the parliament of Toulouse. It was formerly established at Calais, where it was abolished by the English, when they were masters of that place.

It appears very strange, that the inhabitants of the capital live under a more rigorous law than those of the smaller towns; so true is it, that jurisprudence has often been established by chance, without regularity, without uniformity, as the huts are built in a village.

The following was spoken by advocate-general Omer Talon, in full parliament, at the most glorious period in the annals of France, in 1673, concerning the property of one mademoiselle de Canillac, which had been confiscated. Reader, attend to this speech: it is not in the style of Cicero's oratory, but it is curious.

"In the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, God says—'If thou shalt find a city where idolatry prevails, thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly, and all that is therein. And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city and all the spoil thereof, every whit, for the Lord thy God.'

"So in the crime of high treason, the king seized the property, and the children were deprived of it. Naboth having been proceeded against, '*quia maledixerat regi*,' king Ahab took possession of his inheritance. David, being apprised that Mephibosheth had taken part in the rebellion, gave all his goods to Sheba, who brought him the news—'*Tibi sunt omnia quæ fuerunt Mephibosheth.*'" *

The question here was, who should inherit the property of mademoiselle de Canillac—property formerly confiscated from her father, abandoned by the king to

* A pleasant specimen of equity pleading, and almost as sound as the decision of another chancellor in respect to literary property. It is however certainly scripturally supported, being precisely the sort of equity displayed by David towards the descendant of Saul, and of that Jonathan to whom his soul was knit.—T.

a keeper of the royal treasure, and afterwards given by this keeper of the royal treasure to the testatrix. And in this case of a woman of Auvergne a lawyer refers us to that of Ahab, one of the petty kings of a part of Palestine, who confiscated Naboth's vineyard, after assassinating its proprietor with the poniard of Jewish justice—an abominable act, which has become a proverb, to inspire men with a horror for usurpation! Assuredly, Naboth's vineyard has no connection with mademoiselle de Canillac's inheritance. Nor do the murder and confiscation of the goods of Mephibosheth, grandson of king Saul, and son of David's friend Jonathan, bear a much greater affinity to this lady's will.

With this pedantry, this rage for citations foreign to the subject; with this ignorance of the first principles of human nature; with these ill conceived and ill adapted prejudices, has jurisprudence been treated on by men who, in their sphere, have had some reputation.

CONSCIENCE.

SECTION I.

Of the Conscience of Good and of Evil.

LOCKE has demonstrated (if we may use that term in morals and metaphysics) that we have no innate ideas or principles. He was obliged to demonstrate this position at great length, as the contrary was at that time universally believed.

It hence clearly follows, that it is necessary to instil just ideas and good principles into the mind as soon as it acquires the use of its faculties.

Locke adduces the example of savages, who kill and devour their neighbour without any remorse of conscience; and of Christian soldiers, decently educated, who, on the taking of a city by assault, plunder, slay, and violate, not merely without remorse, but with rapture, honour, and glory, and with the applause of all their comrades.

It is perfectly certain that, in the massacres of Saint

Bartholomew, and in the "autos-da-fe," the holy acts of faith of the Inquisition, no murderer's conscience ever upbraided him with having massacred men, women, and children, or with the shrieks, faintings, and dying tortures of his miserable victims, whose only crime consisted in keeping Easter in a manner different from that of the inquisitors.

It results, therefore, from what has been stated, that we have no other conscience than what is created in us by the spirit of the age, by example, and by our own dispositions and reflections.

Man is born without principles, but with the faculty of receiving them. His natural disposition will incline him either to cruelty or kindness; his understanding will in time inform him that the square of twelve is a hundred and forty-four, and that he ought not to do to others what he would not that others should do to him; but he will not, of himself, acquire these truths in early childhood. He will not understand the first, and he will not feel the second.

A young savage who, when hungry, has received from his father a piece of another savage to eat, will, on the morrow, ask for the like meal, without thinking about any obligation not to treat a neighbour otherwise than he would be treated himself. He acts, mechanically and irresistibly, directly contrary to that eternal principle.

Nature has made a provision against such horrors. She has given to man a disposition to pity, and the power of comprehending truth. These two gifts of God constitute the foundation of civil society. This is the cause that there have ever been but few cannibals; and which renders life, among civilized nations, a little tolerable. Fathers and mothers bestow on their children an education which soon renders them social, and this education confers on them a conscience.

Pure religion and morality early inculcated, so strongly impress the human heart, that, from the age of sixteen or seventeen, a single bad action will not be performed without the upbraidings of conscience. Then rush on those headlong passions which war

against conscience, and sometimes destroy it. During the conflict, men hurried on by the tempest of their feelings, on various occasions, consult the advice of others; as, in physical diseases, they ask it of those who appear to enjoy good health.

This it is which has produced casuists; that is, persons who decide on cases of conscience. One of the wisest casuists was Cicero. In his book of "Offices," or "Duties" of man, he investigates points of the greatest nicety; but long before him Zoroaster had appeared in the world to guide the conscience by the most beautiful precept—"If you *doubt* whether an action be good or bad, abstain from doing it." We treat of this elsewhere.*

Whether a Judge should decide according to his Conscience, or according to the Evidence.

Thomas Aquinas, you are a great saint and a great divine, and no Dominican has a greater veneration for you than I have; but you have decided, in your "Summary," that a judge ought to give sentence according to the evidence produced against the person accused, although he knows that person to be perfectly innocent. You maintain that the deposition of witnesses, which must inevitably be false, and the pretended proofs resulting from the process, which are impertinent, ought to weigh down the testimony of his own senses. He saw the crime committed by another; and yet, according to you, he ought in conscience to condemn the accused, although his conscience tells him the accused is innocent.

According to your doctrine, therefore, if the judge had himself committed the crime in question, his conscience ought to oblige him to condemn the man falsely accused of it.

In my conscience, great Saint, I conceive that you are most absurdly and most dreadfully deceived. It is a pity, that while possessing such a knowledge of canon law, you should be so ill acquainted with natural law. The duty of a magistrate to be just,

* See JUST—RELIGION—ZOROASTER.

precedes that of being a formalist. If, in virtue of evidence which can never exceed probability, I were to condemn a man whose innocence I was otherwise convinced of, I should consider myself a fool and an assassin.

Fortunately all the tribunals of the world think differently from you. I know not whether Farinaceus and Grillandus may be of your opinion. However that may be, if ever you meet with Cicero, Ulpian, Trebonian, Demoulin, the chancellor De l'Hospital, or the chancellor D'Aguesseau, in the shades, be sure to ask pardon of them for falling into such an error.

Of a deceitful Conscience.

The best thing perhaps that was ever said upon this important subject is in the witty work of Tristram Shandy, written by a clergyman of the name of Sterne, the second Rabelais of England: it resembles those small satires of antiquity, the essential spirit of which is so piquant and precious.

An old half-pay captain and his corporal, assisted by doctor Slop, put a number of very ridiculous questions. In these questions the French divines are not spared. Mention is particularly made of a memoir presented to the Sorbonne by a surgeon, requesting permission to baptise unborn children by means of a clyster-pipe, which might be introduced into the womb without injuring either the mother or child.

At length the corporal is directed to read to them a sermon, composed by the same clergyman, Sterne.

Among many particulars, superior even to those of Rembrandt and Calot, it describes a gentleman, a man of the world, spending his time in the pleasures of the table, in gaming, and debauchery, yet doing nothing to expose himself to the reproaches of what is called good company, and consequently never incurring his own. His conscience and his honour accompany him to the theatres, to the gaming houses, and are more particularly present when he liberally pays his lady under protection. He punishes severely, when

in office, the petty larcenies of the vulgar, lives a life of gaiety, and dies without the slightest feeling of remorse.

Doctor Slop interrupts the reading to observe, that such a case was impossible with respect to a follower of the church of England, and could happen only among papists.

At last the sermon adduces the example of David, who sometimes possessed a conscience tender and enlightened, at others hardened and dark.

When he has it in his power to assassinate his king in a cavern, he scruples going beyond cutting off a corner of his robe—here is the tender conscience. He passes an entire year without feeling the slightest compunction for his adultery with Bathsheba and his murder of Uriah—here is the same conscience in a state of obduracy and darkness.

Such, says the preacher, are the greater number of mankind. We concede to this clergyman that the great ones of the world are very often in this state : the torrent of pleasures and affairs urges them almost irresistibly on : they have no time to keep a conscience. Conscience is proper enough for the people ; but even the people dispense with it, when the question is how to gain money. It is judicious, however, at times, to endeavour to awaken conscience both in mantua-makers and in monarchs, by the inculcation of a morality calculated to make an impression upon both ; but, in order to make this impression, it is necessary to preach better than modern preachers usually do, who seldom talk effectively to either.

Liberty of Conscience.

(Translated from the German.)

[We do not adopt the whole of the following article ; but, as it contains some truths, we did not consider ourselves obliged to omit it ; and we do not feel ourselves called upon to justify what may be advanced in it with too great rashness or severity.—*Author.*]

“ The almoner of prince —— who is a Roman Catholic, threatened an anabaptist that he would get

him banished from the small states which the prince governed; he told him that there were only three authorised sects in the empire—that which eats Jesus Christ, by faith alone, in a morsel of bread, while drinking out of a cup; that which eats Jesus Christ with bread alone; and that which eats Jesus Christ in body and in soul, without either bread or wine; and that as for the anabaptist who does not in any way eat God, he was not fit to live in monseigneur's territory. At last, the conversation, kindling into greater violence, the almoner fiercely threatened the anabaptist that he would get him hanged.' 'So much the worse for his highness,' replied the anabaptist; 'I am a large manufacturer; I employ two hundred workmen; I occasion the influx of two hundred thousand crowns a-year into his territories; my family will go and settle somewhere else; monseigneur will in consequence be a loser.'

" 'But suppose monseigneur hangs up your two hundred workmen and your family,' rejoined the almoner, 'and gives your manufacture to good Catholics?'

" 'I defy him to do it,' says the old gentleman. 'A manufacture is not to be given like a farm; because industry cannot be given. It would be more silly for him to act so, than to order all his horses to be killed; because, being a bad horseman, one may have thrown him off his back. The interest of monseigneur does not consist in my swallowing the godhead in a wafer, but in my procuring something to eat for his subjects, and increasing his revenues by my industry. I am a gentleman; and although I had the misfortune not to be born such, my occupation would compel me to become one; for mercantile transactions are of a very different nature from those of a court, and from your own. There can be no success in them without probity. Of what consequence is it to you that I was baptised at what is called the age of discretion, and you while you were an infant? Of what consequence is it to you that I worship God after the manner of my fathers? Were you able to follow up your wise maxims, from one end of the world

to the other, you would hang up the Greek, who does not believe that the spirit proceeds from the father and the son; all the English, all the Hollanders, Danes, Swedes, Icelanders, Prussians, Hanoverians, Saxons, Holsteiners, Hessians, Wurtemburghers, Bernese, Hamburgers, Cossacks, Wallachians, and Russians, none of whom believe the pope to be infallible; all the Mussulmen, who believe in one God, and who give him neither father nor mother; the Indians, whose religion is more ancient than the Jewish; and the lettered Chinese, who, for the space of four thousand years, have served one only God without superstition and without fanaticism. This then is what you would perform had you but the power! 'Most assuredly,' says the monk, 'for the zeal of the house of the Lord devours me. *'Zelus domus sue comedit me.'*

" 'Just tell me now, my good almoner,' resumed the anabaptist, 'are you a Dominican, or a jesuit, or a devil?' 'I am a jesuit,' says the other. 'Alas, my friend, if you are not a devil, why do you advance things so utterly diabolical?'

" 'Because the reverend father, the rector, has commanded me to do so.'

" 'And who commanded the reverend father, the rector, to commit such an abomination?'

" 'The provincial.'

" 'From whom did the provincial receive the command?'

" 'From our general; and all to please the pope.'

" The poor anabaptist exclaimed:—'Ye holy popes, who are at Rome in possession of the throne of the Cæsars,—archbishops, bishops, and abbés, become soverieigns, I respect and I fly you; but if, in the recesses of your heart, you confess that your opulence and power are founded only on the ignorance and stupidity of our fathers, at least enjoy them with moderation. We do not wish to dethrone you; but do not crush us. Enjoy yourselves, and let us be quiet. If otherwise, tremble, lest at last people should lose their patience and reduce you, for the good of your souls, to the

condition of the apostles, of whom you pretend to be the successors.'

" ' Wretch! you would wish the pope and the bishop of Wurtemburgh to gain heaven by evangelical poverty! "

" ' You, reverend father, would wish to have me hanged! ' "

CONSEQUENCE.

WHAT is our real nature, and what sort of a curious and contemptible understanding do we possess? A man may, it appears, draw the most correct and luminous conclusions, and yet be destitute of common sense. This is in fact too true. The Athenian fool, who believed that all the vessels which came into the port belonged to him, could calculate to a nicety what the cargoes of those vessels were worth, and within how many days they would arrive from Smyrna at the Pireus.

We have seen ideots who could calculate and reason in a still more extraordinary manner. They were not ideots then, you tell me. I ask your pardon, they certainly were. They rested their whole superstructure on an absurd principle; they regularly strung together chimeras. A man may walk well, and go astray at the same time; and then the better he walks the farther astray he goes.

The Fo of the Indians was son to an elephant, who condescended to produce offspring by an Indian princess, who, in consequence of this species of left-handed union, was brought to bed of the god Fo. This princess was own sister to an emperor of the Indies: Fo then was the nephew of that emperor, and the grandson of the elephant and the monarch were cousin-germans; therefore, according to the laws of the state, the race of the emperor being extinct, the descendants of the elephant become the rightful successors. Admit the principle, and the conclusion is perfectly correct.

It is said that the divine elephant was nine standard feet in height. You reasonably suppose that the gate of his stable ought to be above nine feet high, in order to admit his entering with ease. He consumed twenty

pounds of rice every day, and twenty pounds of sugar; and drank twenty-five pounds of water. You find, by using your arithmetic, that he swallowed thirty-six thousand five hundred pounds weight in the course of a year; it is impossible to reckon more correctly. But did your elephant ever, in fact, exist? Was he the emperor's brother-in-law? Had his wife a child by this left-handed union? This is the matter to be investigated. Twenty different authors, who lived at Cochin China, have successively written about it; it is incumbent upon you to collate these twenty authors, to weigh their testimonies, to consult ancient records, to see if there is any mention of this elephant in the public registers; to examine whether the whole account is not a fable, which certain impostors have an interest in sanctioning. You proceed upon an extravagant principle, but draw from it correct conclusions.

Logic is not so much wanting to men as the source of logic. It is not sufficient for a madman to say, six vessels which belong to me carry two hundred tons each; the ton is two thousand pounds weight; I have therefore twelve hundred thousand pounds weight of merchandize in the port of the Piræus. The great point is, are those vessels yours? That is the principle upon which your fortune depends; when that is settled, you may estimate and reckon up afterwards.*

An ignorant man, who is a fanatic, and who at the same time strictly draws his conclusions from his premises, ought sometimes to be smothered to death as a madman. He has read that Phineas, transported by a holy zeal, having found a Jew in bed with a Midianitish woman, slew them both, and was imitated by the Levites, who massacred every household that consisted one half of Midianites and the other of Jews. He learns that Mr. — his Catholic neighbour, intrigues with Mrs. — another neighbour, but a Hugunot, and he will kill both of them without scruple. It is impossible to act in greater consistency with principle;—but what is the remedy for this dreadful disease of the

* See PRINCIPLE.

soul? It is to accustom children betimes to admit nothing which shocks reason, to avoid relating to them histories of ghosts, apparitions, witches, demoniacal possessions, and ridiculous prodigies. A girl of an active and susceptible imagination hears a story of demoniacal possessions; her nerves become shaken, she falls into convulsions, and believes herself possessed by a demon or devil. I actually saw one young woman die in consequence of the shock her frame received from these abominable histories.

CONSTANTINE.

SECTION I.

Of the Age of Constantine.

AMONG the ages which followed the Augustan, that of Constantine merits particular distinction. It is immortalised by the great changes which it ushered into the world. It commenced, it is true, with bringing back barbarism. Not merely were there no Ciceros, Horaces, and Virgils, any longer to be found, but there was not even a Lucan or a Seneca; there was not even a philosophic and accurate historian. Nothing was to be seen but equivocal satires or mere random panegyrics.

It was at this time that the Christians began to write history, but they took not Titus Livy or Thucydides as their models. The followers of the ancient religion wrote with no greater eloquence or truth. The two parties, in a state of mutual exasperation, did not very scrupulously investigate the charges which they heaped upon their adversaries; and hence it arises that the same man is sometimes represented as a god and sometimes as a monster.

The decline of every thing, even in the commonest mechanic arts, as well as in eloquence and virtue, took place after the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He was the last emperor of the sect of stoics, who elevated man above himself by rendering him severe to himself only, and compassionate to others. After the death of this

emperor, who was a genuine philosopher, there was nothing but tyranny and confusion. The soldiers frequently disposed of the empire. The senate had fallen into such complete contempt that, in the time of Galienus, an express law was enacted to prevent senators from engaging in war. Thirty heads of parties were seen, at one time, assuming the title of emperor in thirty provinces of the empire. The barbarians already poured in, on every side, in the middle of the third century, on this rent and lacerated empire. Yet it was held together by the mere military discipline on which it had been founded.

During all these calamities Christianity gradually established itself, particularly in Egypt, Syria, and on the coasts of Asia Minor. The Roman empire admitted all sorts of religions, as well as all sects of philosophy. The worship of Osiris was permitted, and even the Jews were left in the enjoyment of considerable privileges, notwithstanding their revolts. But the people in the provinces frequently rose up against the Christians. The magistrates persecuted them, and edicts were frequently obtained against them from the emperors. There is no ground for astonishment at the general hatred in which Christians were at first held, while so many other religions were tolerated. The reason was, that neither Egyptians nor Jews, nor the worshippers of the goddess of Syria and so many other foreign deities, ever declared open hostility to the gods of the empire. They did not array themselves against the established religion; but one of the most imperious duties of the Christians was to exterminate the prevailing worship. The priests of the gods raised a clamour on perceiving the diminution of sacrifices and offerings; and the people, ever fanatical and impetuous, were stirred up against the Christians, while in the meantime many emperors protected them. Adrian expressly forbade the persecution of them. Marcus Aurelius commanded that they should not be prosecuted on account of religion. Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Philip, and Galienus, left them entire liberty.

They had, in the third century, public churches numerously attended and very opulent; and so great was the liberty they enjoyed that, in the course of that century, they held sixteen councils. The road to dignities was shut up against the first Christians, who were nearly all of obscure condition, and they turned their attention to commerce, and some of them amassed great affluence. This is the resource of all societies who cannot have access to offices in the state. Such has been the case with the Calvinists in France, all the Non-conformists in England, the Catholics in Holland, the Armenians in Persia, the Banians in India, and the Jews all over the world. However, at last the toleration was so great, and the administration of the government so mild, that the Christians gained access to all the honours and dignities of the state. They did not sacrifice to the gods of the empire; they were not molested, whether they attended or avoided the temples; there was at Rome the most perfect liberty with respect to the exercises of their religion; none were compelled to engage in them. The Christians, therefore, enjoyed the same liberty as others. It is so true that they attained to honours, that Dioclesian and Galerius deprived no fewer than three hundred and three of them of those honours, in the persecution of which we shall have to speak.

It is our duty to adore Providence in all its dispensations; but I confine myself to political history. Manes, under the reign of Probus, about the year 278, formed a new religion in Alexandria. The principles of this sect were made up of some ancient doctrines of the Persians and certain tenets of Christianity. Probus, and his successor Carus, left Manes and the Christians in the enjoyment of peace. Numerian permitted them entire liberty. Dioclesian protected the Christians, and tolerated the Manicheans, during twelve years; but in 296 he issued an edict against the Manicheans, and proscribed them as enemies to the empire and adherents of the Persians. The Christians were not comprehended in the edict; they con-

tinued in tranquillity under Dioclesian, and made open profession of their religion throughout the whole empire until the latter years of that prince's reign.

To complete the sketch, it is necessary to describe of what at that period the Roman empire consisted. Notwithstanding internal and foreign shocks, notwithstanding the incursions of barbarians, it comprised all the possessions of the grand seignor at the present day, except Arabia; all that the house of Austria possesses in Germany, and all the German provinces as far as the Elbe; Italy, France, Spain, England, and half of Scotland; all Africa as far as the Desart of Sarah, and even the Canary Isles. All these nations were retained under the yoke by bodies of military less considerable than would be raised by Germany and France at the present day, when in actual war.

This immense power became more confirmed and enlarged, from Cæsar down to Theodosius, as well by laws, police, and real services conferred on the people, as by arms and terror. It is even yet a matter of astonishment that none of these conquered nations have been able, since they became their own rulers, to form such highways, and to erect such amphitheatres and public baths, as their conquerors bestowed upon them. Countries which are at present nearly barbarous and deserted, were then populous and well governed. Such were Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, Illyria, Pannonia, with Asia Minor, and the coasts of Africa; but, it must also be admitted that Germany, France, and Britain, were then very different from what they are now. These three states are those which have most benefited by governing themselves; yet it required nearly twelve centuries to place those kingdoms in the flourishing situation in which we now behold them; but it must be acknowledged that all the rest have lost much by passing under different laws. The ruins of Asia Minor and Greece, the depopulation of Egypt, and the barbarism of Africa, are still existing testimonials of Roman greatness. The great number of flourishing cities which covered those countries are now

become miserable villages; and the soil is become barren under the hands of a brutalised population.

SECTION II.

Character of Constantine.

I will not here speak of the confusion which agitated the empire after the abdication of Dioclesian. There were after his death six emperors at once. Constantine triumphed over them all, changed the religion of the empire, and was not merely the author of that great revolution, but of all those which have since occurred in the west. What was his character? Ask it of Julian, of Zozimus, of Sozomen, and of Victor; they will tell you that he acted at first like a great prince, afterwards as a public robber, and that the last stage of his life was that of a sensualist, a trifler, and a prodigal. They will describe him as ever ambitious, cruel, and sanguinary. Ask his character of Eusebius, of Gregory Nazianzen, and Lactantius, they will inform you that he was a perfect man. Between these two extremes authentic facts alone can enable us to obtain the truth. He had a father-in-law, whom he impelled to hang himself; he had a brother-in-law, whom he ordered to be strangled; he had a nephew twelve or thirteen years old, whose throat he ordered to be cut; he had an eldest son, whom he beheaded; he had a wife, whom he ordered to be suffocated in a bath. An old Gallic author said, that "he loved to make a clear house."

If you add to all these domestic acts, that, being on the banks of the Rhine in pursuit of some hordes of Franks who resided in those parts, and having taken their kings, who probably were of the family of our Pharamond or Clodion *le Chevelu*, he exposed them to beasts for his diversion; you may infer from all this, without any apprehension of being deceived, that he was not the most courteous and accommodating personage in the world.

Let us examine, in this place, the principal events of his reign. His father Constantius Chlorus was in the

heart of Britain, where he had for some months assumed the title of emperor. Constantine was at Nicomedia, with the emperor Galerius. He asked permission of the emperor to go to see his father, who was ill. Galerius granted it, without difficulty. Constantine set off with government relays, called *veredaris*. It might be said to be as dangerous to be a post-horse as to be a member of the family of Constantine, for he ordered all the horses to be hamstrung after he had done with them, fearful lest Galerius should revoke his permission and order him to return to Nicomedia. He found his father at the point of death, and caused himself to be recognised emperor by the small number of Roman troops at that time in Britain.

An election of a Roman emperor at York, by five or six thousand men, was not likely to be considered legitimate at Rome. It wanted, at least, the formula of "Senatus populusque Romanus." The senate, the people, and the prætorian bands, unanimously elected Maxentius, son of the Cæsar Maximilian Hercules, who had been already Cæsar, and brother of that Fausta whom Constantine had married, and whom he afterwards caused to be suffocated. This Maxentius is called a tyrant and usurper by our historians, who are uniformly the partisans of the successful. He was the protector of the pagan religion against Constantine, who already began to declare himself for the christians. Being both pagan and vanquished, he could not but be an abominable man.

Eusebius tells us that Constantine, when going to Rome to fight Maxentius, saw in the clouds, as well as his whole army, the grand imperial standard called the *labarum*, surmounted with a Latin P. or a large Greek R. with a cross in "saltier," and certain Greek words which signified, "By this sign thou shalt conquer." Some authors pretend that this sign appeared to him at Besançon, others at Cologne, some at Treves, and others at Troyes. It is strange that in all these places heaven should have expressed its meaning in Greek. It would have appeared more natural to the weak understandings of men that this sign should have

appeared in Italy on the day of battle; but then it would have been necessary that the inscription should have been in Latin. A learned antiquary, of the name of Loisel, has refuted this narrative; but he was treated as a reprobate.

It might, however, be worth while to reflect, that this war was not a war of religion, that Constantine was not a saint, that he died suspected of being an Arian, after having persecuted the orthodox; and, therefore, that there is no very obvious motive to support this prodigy.

After his victory, the senate hastened to pay its devotion to the conqueror, and to express its detestation of the memory of the conquered. The triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius was speedily dismantled to adorn that of Constantine. A statue of gold was prepared for him, an honour which had never been shown except to the Gods. He received it, notwithstanding the *labarum*, and received further the title of Pontifex Maximus, which he retained all his life. His first care, according to Zozimus, was to exterminate the whole race of the tyrant, and his principal friends; after which he assisted very graciously at the public spectacles and games.

The aged Dioclesian was at that time dying in his retreat at Salona. Constantine should not have been in such haste to pull down his statues at Rome; he should have recollected that the forgotten emperor had been the benefactor of his father, and that he was indebted to him for the empire. Although he had conquered Maxentius, Licinius his brother-in-law, and Augustus like himself, were still to be got rid of; and Licinius was equally anxious to be rid of Constantine, if he had it in his power. However, their quarrels not having yet broken out in open hostility, they issued conjointly at Milan, in 313, the celebrated edict of liberty of conscience. "We grant," they say, "to all the liberty of following whatever religion they please, in order to draw down the blessing of heaven upon us and our subjects; we declare that we have granted to the Christians the free and full power of exercising their religion; it being understood that all

others shall enjoy the same liberty, in order to preserve the tranquillity of our government." A volume might be written upon such an edict, but I shall merely venture a few lines.*

Constantine was not as yet a Christian ; nor, indeed, was his colleague Licinius one. There was still an emperor or a tyrant to be exterminated ; this was a determined pagan, of the name of Maximin. Licinius fought with him before he fought with Constantine. Heaven was still more favourable to him than to Constantine himself ; for the latter had only the apparition of a standard, but Licinius that of an angel. This angel taught him a prayer, by means of which he would be sure to vanquish the barbarian Maximin. Licinius wrote it down, ordered it to be recited three times by his army, and obtained a complete victory. If this same Licinius, the brother-in-law of Constantine, had reigned happily, we should have heard of nothing but his angel ; but Constantine having had him hanged, and his son slain, and became absolute master of everything, nothing therefore has been talked of but Constantine's *labarum*.

It is believed that he put to death his eldest son Crispus, and his own wife Fausta, the same year that he convened the council of Nice. Zozimus and Sozomen pretend that, the heathen priests having told him that there were no expiations for such great crimes, he then made open profession of christianity, and demolished many temples in the east. It is not very probable that the pagan pontiffs should have omitted so fine an opportunity of getting back their grand pontiff, who had abandoned them. However, it is by no

* Edicts of this liberal class are very suspicious from quarters which we cannot for a moment imagine to be imbued with the lofty principle of equity, on which alone they are justly and philosophically grounded. As the mere temporary policy of essentially intolerant sects, which are only for the present the weaker, they are to be exceedingly suspected. Nobody was deceived by the affected liberality of James II. in his intended repeal of the penal statutes. The United States of America alone exhibit consistency and sincerity in respect to this important branch of human liberty.—T.

means impossible that there might be among them some severe men; scrupulous and austere persons are to be found everywhere. What is more extraordinary is, that Constantine, after becoming a Christian, performed no penance for his parricide. It was at Rome that he exercised that cruelty, and from that time residence at Rome became hateful to him; he quitted it for ever, and went to lay the foundations of Constantinople. How durst he say, in one of his rescripts, that he transferred the seat of empire to Constantinople "by the command of God himself?" Is it anything but an impudent mockery of God and man? If God had given him any command, would it not have been, not to assassinate his wife and son?

Dioclesian had already furnished an example of transferring the empire towards Asia. The pride, the despotism, and the general manners of the Asiatics, disgusted the Romans, depraved and slavish as they had become. The emperors had not ventured to require, at Rome, that their feet should be kissed, nor to introduce a crowd of eunuchs into their palaces. Dioclesian began in Nicomedia, and Constantine completed the system at Constantinople, to assimilate the Roman court to the courts of the Persians. The city of Rome from that time languished in decay; and the old Roman spirit declined with her. Constantine thus effected the greatest injury to the empire that was in his power.

Of all the emperors he was unquestionably the most absolute. Augustus had left an image of liberty; Tiberius, and even Nero, had humoured the senate and people of Rome: Constantine humoured none. He had at first established his power in Rome by disbanding those haughty prætorians who considered themselves the masters of the emperors. He made an entire separation between the gown and the sword. The depositories of the laws, kept down under military power, were only jurists in chains. The provinces of the empire were governed upon a new system.

The grand object of Constantine was to be master in everything; he was so in the church as well as in the state. We behold him convoking and opening the

council of Nice; advancing into the midst of the assembled fathers, covered over with jewels, and with the diadem upon his head, seating himself in the highest place, and banishing unconcernedly sometimes Arius and sometimes Athanasius. He put himself at the head of Christianity without being a Christian; for at that time baptism was essential to any person's becoming one; he was only a catechumen. The usage of waiting for the approach of death before immersing in the water of regeneration, was beginning to decline with respect to private individuals. If Constantine, by delaying his baptism till near the point of death, entertained the notion that he might commit every act with impunity in the hope of a complete expiation, it was unfortunate for the human race that such an opinion should have ever suggested itself to the mind of a man in possession of uncontrolled power.

CONTRADICTIONS.

SECTION I.

THE more we see of the world, the more we see it abounding in contradictions and inconsistencies. To begin with the grand Turk: he orders every head that he dislikes to be struck off, and can very rarely preserve his own.

If we pass from the grand Turk to the Holy Father, he confirms the election of emperors, and has kings among his vassals; but he is not so powerful as a duke of Savoy. He expedites orders for America and Africa, yet could not withhold the slightest of its privileges from the republic of Lucca. The emperor is the king of the Romans; but the right of their king consists in holding the pope's stirrup, and handing the water to him at mass.

The English serve their monarch upon their knees; but they depose, imprison, and behead him.

Men who make a vow of poverty, gain in consequence an income of about two hundred thousand crowns; and, in virtue of their vow of humility, they become absolute sovereigns. The plurality of bene-

fices with care of souls is severely denounced at Rome, yet every day it dispatches a bull to some German, to enable him to hold five or six bishoprics at once. The reason, we are told, is, that the German bishops have no care of souls. The chancellor of France is the first person in the state; but he cannot sit at table with the king, at least he could not till lately, although a colonel, who is scarcely perhaps a gentleman (*gentilhomme*), may enjoy that distinction. The wife of a provincial governor is a queen in the province, but merely a citizen's wife at court.

Persons convicted of the crime of non-conformity are publicly roasted, and in all our colleges the second eclogue of Virgil is explained with great gravity, including Corydon's declaration of love to the beautiful Alexis; and it is remarked to the boys, that although Alexis be fair and Amyntas brown, yet Amyntas may still deserve the preference.

If an unfortunate philosopher, without intending the least harm, takes it into his head that the earth turns round, or to imagine that light comes from the sun, or to suppose that matter may contain some other properties than those we are acquainted with, he is cried down as a blasphemer, and a disturber of the public peace; and yet there are translations *in usum Delphini* of the "Tusculan Questions" of Cicero, and of Lucretius, which are two complete courses of irreligion.*

Courts of justice no longer believe that persons are possessed by devils, and laugh at sorcerers; but Gauffredi and Grandier were burnt for sorcery; and one half of a parliament wanted to sentence to the stake a monk accused of having bewitched a girl of eighteen by breathing upon her.†

* This is pleasantly descriptive of the great conventional inconsistency of established society. Thousands observe these anomalies who not only would not for the world protest against them, but who would feel exceedingly inclined to persecute persons who are more ingenuous than themselves. The intrenchments of *Noddledum* are however beginning to be assailed with increased freedom, even in the British House of Commons.—T.

† The case of father Girard and La Cadiere. Nothing was ever more disgraceful to humanity.

The sceptical philosopher Bayle was persecuted, even in Holland. La Motte le Vayer, more of a sceptic but less of a philosopher, was preceptor of the king Louis XIV. and of the king's brother. Gourville was hanged in effigy at Paris, while a French minister in Germany.

The celebrated atheist Spinoza lived and died in peace. Vanini, who had merely written against Aristotle, was burnt as an atheist: he has, in consequence, obtained the honour of making one article in the histories of the learned, and in all the dictionaries, which in fact constitute immense repositories of lies, mixed up with a very small portion of truth. Open these books, and you will there find not merely that Vanini publicly taught atheism in his writings, but that twelve professors of his sect went with him to Naples with the intention of everywhere making proselytes. Afterwards open the books of Vanini, and you will be astonished to find in them nothing but proofs of the existence of God. Read the following passage, taken from his "*Amphitheatrum*," a work equally unknown and condemned: "God is his own original and boundary, without end and without beginning, requiring neither the one nor the other, and Father of all beginning and end; he ever exists, but not in time; to him there has been no past, and will be no future; he reigns everywhere, without being in any place; immovable without rest, rapid without motion; he is all, and out of all; he is in all without being enclosed; out of every thing without being excluded from any thing; good, but without quality; entire, but without parts; immutable, while changing the whole universe: his will is his power; absolute, there is nothing in him of what is merely possible, all in him is real; he is the first, the middle, and the last; finally, although constituting all, he is above all beings, out of them, within them, beyond them, before them and after them."—It was after such a profession of faith that Vanini was declared an atheist. Upon what grounds was he condemned? simply upon the deposition of a man named Francón.

In vain did his books depose in favour of him; a single enemy deprived him of life, and stigmatised his name throughout Europe.

The little book called "*Cymbalum Mundi*," which is merely a cold imitation of Lucian, and which has not the most slight or remote reference to christianity, was condemned to be burnt. But Rabelais was printed "*cum privilegio*;" and a free course was allowed to the "*Turkish Spy*," and even to the "*Persian Letters*," that volatile, ingenious, and daring work, in which there is one whole letter in favour of suicide; another, in which we find these words, "If we suppose such a thing as religion;" a third, in which it is expressly said, that "the bishops have no other functions than dispensing with the observance of the laws;" and, finally, another in which the pope is said to be a magician, who makes people believe that three are one, and that the bread we eat is not bread, &c. &c.

The abbé St. Pierre, a man who could frequently deceive himself, but who never wrote without a view to the public good, and whose works were called by cardinal Dubois, "*The dreams of an honest citizen*;"—the abbé St. Pierre, I say, was unanimously expelled from the French academy, for having, in some political work, preferred the establishment of councils under the regency, to that of secretaries of state under Louis the fourteenth; and for saying, that, towards the close of that glorious reign, the finances were wretchedly conducted. The author of the *Persian Letters* has not mentioned Louis XIV. in his book, except to say, that he was a magician who could make his subjects believe that paper was money; that he liked no government but that of Turkey; that he preferred a man who handed him a napkin, to a man who had gained him battles; that he had conferred a pension on a man who had run away two leagues, and a government upon another who had run away four; that he was overwhelmed with poverty, although it is said, in the same letter, that his finances are inexhaustible. Observe then, I repeat, all that this writer, in the

only work then known to be his, has said of Louis XIV. the patron of the French academy. We may add too, as a climax of contradiction, that that society admitted him as a member for having turned them into ridicule; for, of all the books by which the public have been entertained at the expense of the society, there is not one in which it has been treated more disrespectfully than in the *Persian Letters*. See that letter wherein he says, "The members of this body have no other business than incessantly to chatter; panegyric comes and takes its place as it were spontaneously in their eternal gabble," &c. After having thus treated this society, they praise him, on his introduction, for his skill in drawing likenesses.*

Were I disposed to continue the research into the contrarieties to be found in the empire of letters, I might give the history of every man of learning or wit, just in the same manner as, if I were inclined to detail the contradictions existing in society, it would be necessary to write the history of mankind. An Asiatic, who should travel to Europe, might well consider us as pagans: our week-days bear the names of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus; and the nuptials of Cupid and Psyche are painted in the pope's palace: but, particularly, were this Asiatic to attend at our opera, he would not hesitate in concluding it to be a festival in honour of the pagan deities. If he endeavoured to gain more precise information respecting our manners, he would experience still greater astonishment; he would see, in Spain, that a severe law forbids any foreigner from having the slightest share, however indirect, in the commerce of America; and that, notwithstanding, foreigners, through the medium of Spanish factors, carry on a commerce with it to the extent of fifteen millions a year. Thus Spain can be enriched only by the violation of a law always subsisting and

* This phrase is not to be found in the printed discourse of M. Mallet, the then president: so that either M. Voltaire's memory deceived him, or the expression, having attracted notice on the delivery of the discourse, was suppressed in printing it.—*Note of French Editor.*

always evaded.* He would see, that, in another country, the government establish and encourage a company for trading to the Indies; while the divines of that country have declared the receiving a dividend upon the shares offensive in the sight of God. He would see, that the offices of a judge, a commander, a privy counsellor, are purchased; he would be unable to comprehend why it is stated in the patents appointing to such offices, that they have been bestowed gratis and without purchase, while the receipt for the sum given for them is attached to the commission itself. Would not our Asiatic be surprised, also, to see comedians salaried by sovereigns, and excommunicated by priests? He would enquire why a plebeian lieutenant-general, who had won battles,† should be subject to the *taille*, like a peasant; and a sheriff (echevin) should be considered, at least in reference to this point, as noble as a Montmorency? Why, while regular dramas are forbidden to be performed during a week sacred to edification, merry andrews are permitted to offend even the least delicate ears with their ribaldry? He would almost everywhere see our usages in opposition to our laws; and were we to travel to Asia, we should discover the existence of exactly similar contradictions.

Men are everywhere inconsistent alike. They have made laws by piece-meal, as breaches are repaired in walls. Here the eldest sons take everything they are able from the younger ones; there all share equally. Sometimes the church has ordered duels, sometimes it has anathematised them. The partisans and the opponents of Aristotle have been both excommunicated in their turn; as have, also, the wearers of long hair and short hair. There has been but one perfect law in the world, and that was designed to regulate a species of

* This grave species of contradiction, approaching to absolute fatuity, seems elemental in Spanish policy; and Ferdinand VII. appears born to represent it to the life—a sort of personification of Political Idiotism.—T.

† This ridiculous custom was abolished in 1751, since which lieutenant-generals of armies have been declared noble, like sheriffs.—*French Editor.*

folly,—that is to say, play. The laws of play are the only ones which admit of no exception, relaxation, change, or tyranny. A man who has been a lacquey, if he play at lansquenet with kings, is paid with perfect readiness when he wins. In other cases the law is everywhere a sword, with which the strongest party cuts in pieces the weakest.

In the mean time the world goes on as if everything was wisely arranged; irregularity is part of our nature. Our social world is like the natural globe, rude and unshapely, but possessing a principle of preservation: it would be folly to wish that mountains, seas, and rivers were traced in regular and finished forms; it would be a still greater folly to expect from man the perfection of wisdom; it would be as weak as to wish to attach wings to dogs or horns to eagles.

Examples taken from History, from sacred Scripture, from numerous Authors, &c.

We have just been instancing a variety of contradictions in our usages, our manners, and our laws: but we have not yet said enough.

Everything, particularly in Europe, has been made in the same manner as harlequin's habit. His master, when he wanted to have a dress made for him, had not a piece of cloth, and therefore took old cuttings of all sorts of colours. Harlequin was laughed at, but then he was clothed.

The Germans are a brave nation, whom neither the Germanicuses nor the Trajans were ever able completely to subjugate. All the German nations that dwelt beyond the Elbe were invincible, although badly armed; and from these gloomy climes issued forth, in part, the avengers of the world. Germany, far from constituting the Roman empire, has been instrumental in destroying it.

This empire had found a refuge at Constantinople, when a German (an Austracian) went from Aix la Chapelle to Rome, to strip the Greek Cæsars of the remainder of their possessions in Italy. He assumed the name of Cæsar, Imperator; but neither he nor his

successors even ventured to reside at Rome. That capital could not either boast or regret that, from the time of Augustulus, the final excrement of the genuine Roman empire, a single Cæsar had lived and been buried within its walls.

It is difficult to suppose the empire can be "holy," as it professes three different religions, of which two are declared impious, abominable, damnable, and damned, by the court of Rome, which the whole imperial court consider in such cases to be supreme.

It is certainly not Roman, since the emperor has not any residence at Rome.

In England, people wait upon the king kneeling. The constant maxim is, "The king can do no wrong;" his ministers only can deserve blame; he is as infallible in his actions as the pope in his judgments. Such is the fundamental, the "salique" law of England. Yet the parliament sat in judgment on its king Edward II., who had been vanquished and taken prisoner by his wife: he was declared to have done all possible "wrong," and deprived of all his rights to the crown. Sir William Tressel went to him in prison, and made him the following complimentary address:

"I, William Tressel, as proxy for the parliament and the whole English nation, revoke the homage formerly paid you; I put you to defiance, and deprive you of royal power, and from this time forth we will hold no allegiance to you."*

The parliament tried and sentenced king Richard II., grandson of the great Edward III. Thirty-one articles of accusation were brought against him, among which, two are not a little singular:—that he had borrowed money and not repaid it; and that he had asserted, before witnesses, that he was master of the lives and properties of his subjects.

The parliament deposed Henry VI., who, undoubtedly, was exceedingly wrong, but in a somewhat different sense;—he was imbecile.

The parliament declared Edward IV. a traitor, and

Rapin Thoyras has not translated this document literally. , .

confiscated his goods; and afterwards, on his being successful, restored him.

As for Richard III. he undoubtedly committed more wrong than all the others: he was a Nero, but a bold one; and the parliament did not declare his wrongs till after he was slain.

The house of commons imputed to Charles I. more wrongs than he was justly chargeable with, and brought him to the scaffold. Parliament voted that James II. had committed very gross flagrant wrongs, and particularly that of withdrawing himself from the kingdom. It declared the throne vacant; that is, it deposed him.

In the present day, Junius writes to the king of England, that he is faulty in being good and wise. If these are not contradictions, I know not where to find them.

Of Contradictions in certain Rites.

Next to those great political contradictions, which are subdivided into innumerable little ones, nothing more forcibly attracts our notice than the contradiction apparent in reference to some of our rites. We hate Judaism. No longer than fifteen years ago, Jews were still burnt at the stake. We consider them as murderers of our God, and yet we assemble every Sunday to chant Jewish psalms and canticles: it is only owing to our ignorance of the language, that we do not recite them in Hebrew. But the fifteen first bishops, the priests, deacons, and congregation of Jerusalem, which was the cradle of the christian religion, always recited the Jewish psalms in the Jewish idiom of the Syriac language; and, till the time of the Caliph Omar, almost all the christians, from Tyre to Aleppo, prayed in that Jewish idiom. At present, any one reciting the psalms as they were originally composed, or chanting them in the Jewish language, would be suspected of being a circumcised Jew, and might be burnt as one; at least, not more than twenty years since that would have been his fate, although Jesus Christ was circumcised, as were also his apostles and disciples. I set aside the mysterious doctrines of our holy religion,

everything that is an object of faith, everything that we ought to approach only with awe and submission. I look only at externals; I refer simply to observances: I ask if anything was ever more contradictory?

Of Contradictions in Things and Men.

If any literary society is inclined to undertake a history of contradictions, I will subscribe for twenty folio volumes.

The world displays nothing but contradictions. What would be necessary to put an end to them?—To assemble the states general of the human race. But, according to the nature and constitution of mankind, it would be a new contradiction were they to agree. Bring together all the rabbits in the world, and there would not be two different minds among them.

I know only two descriptions of immoveable beings in the world, geometricians and brute animals; they are guided by two invariable rules, demonstration and instinct: some disputes, indeed, have occurred between geometricians, but brutes have never varied.

Of the Contradictions in Men and Things.

The contrasts, the lights and shades, in which men are represented in history, are not contradictions; they are faithful portraits of human nature.

Every day, both censure and admiration are applied to Alexander, the murderer of Clitus, but the avenger of Greece; the conqueror of Persia, and the founder of Alexandria:

To Cæsar, the debauchee, who robbed the public treasury of Rome to enslave his country; but whose clemency was equal to his valour, and whose genius was equal to his courage:

To Mahomet, the impostor and robber; but the only legislator of religion that ever displayed courage, or founded a great empire:

To the enthusiast Cromwell, at once knave and fanatic, the murderer of his king by form of law; but equally profound as a politician, and valiant as a warrior.

A thousand contrasts frequently present themselves

at once to the mind, and these contrasts are in nature. They are not more astonishing than a fine day followed by a tempest.

Of apparent Contradictions in Books.

We must accurately distinguish in books, and particularly the sacred ones, between apparent and real contradictions. It is said in the Pentateuch, that Moses was the meekest of men, and that he ordered twenty-three thousand Hebrews to be slain who had worshipped the golden calf, and twenty-four thousand more, who had, like himself, married Midianitish women. But sagacious commentators have adduced solid proofs that Moses possessed a most amiable temper, and that he only executed the vengeance of God in massacring these forty-seven thousand Israelites, as just stated.

Some daring critics have pretended to perceive a contradiction in the narrative in which it is said that Moses changed all the waters of Egypt into blood, and that the magicians of Pharaoh afterwards performed the same prodigy,—the book of Exodus leaving no interval of time between the miracle of Moses and the magical operation of the enchanters.

It appears, at first view, impossible that these magicians should change to blood that which was already made such; but the difficulty may be removed by supposing that Moses had allowed the waters to resume their original nature, in order to give Pharaoh time for reflection. This supposition is the more plausible, inasmuch as, if not expressly favoured by the text, the latter is not contrary to it.

The same sceptics enquire how, after all the horses were destroyed by hail, in the sixth plague, Pharaoh was able to pursue the Jewish nation with cavalry. But this contradiction is not even an apparent one, since the hail which killed all the horses that were out in the fields, could not fall on those which were in the stables.

One of the greatest contradictions which has been supposed to be found in the history of the kings, is

the utter scarcity of offensive and defensive arms among the Jews at the time of the accession of Saul, compared with the army of three hundred and thirty thousand men, whom he conducted against the Ammonites who were besieging Jabesh Gilead.

It is in fact related that then,* and even after that battle, there was not a lance, not even a single sword, among the whole Hebrew people; that the Philistines prevented the Hebrews from manufacturing swords and lances; that the Hebrews were obliged to have recourse to the Philistines for sharpening and repairing their plough-shares,† mattocks, axes, and pruning-hooks.

This acknowledgment seems to prove that the Hebrews consisted only of a very small number, and that the Philistines were a powerful and victorious nation, who kept the Israelites under the yoke, and treated them as slaves; in short, that it was impossible for Saul to collect three hundred and thirty thousand fighting men, &c.

The reverend father Calmet‡ says, it is probable "that there is a little exaggeration in what is stated about Saul and Jonathan;" but that learned man forgets that the other commentators ascribe the first victories of Saul and Jonathan to one of those decided miracles which God so often condescended to perform in favour of his miserable people. Jonathan, with his armour-bearer only, at the very beginning, slew twenty of the enemy; and the Philistines, utterly confounded, turned their arms against each other. The author of the book of Kings positively declares,§ that it was a miracle of God: "Accidit quasi miraculum a Deo." There is therefore no contradiction.

The enemies of the Christian religion, the Celsuses, the Porphyrys, and the Julians, have exhausted the sagacity of their understandings upon this subject.

* I. Kings, chap. xiii. v. 22.

† I. Kings, chap. xiii. v. 19, 20, and 21.

‡ Calmet, note on verse 19.

§ I. Kings, chap. xiv. v. 15.

The Jewish writers have availed themselves of all the advantages they derived from their superior knowledge of the Hebrew language, to explain these apparent contradictions. They have been followed even by Christians, such as lord Herbert, Wollaston, Tindal, Toland, Collins, Shaftesbury, Woolston, Gordon, Bolingbroke, and many others of different nations. Freiret, perpetual secretary of the academy of belles lettres in France, the learned Le Clerc himself, and Simon of the Oratory, thought they perceived some contradictions which might be ascribed to the copyists. An immense number of other critics have endeavoured to remove or correct contradictions which appeared to them inexplicable.

We read in a dangerous little book, composed with much art: * "St. Matthew and St. Luke give each a genealogy of Christ different from the other; and lest it should be thought that the differences are only slight, such as might be imputed to neglect or oversight, the contrary may easily be shewn by reading the first chapter of Matthew and the third of Luke. We shall then see that fifteen generations more are enumerated in the one than in the other; that, from David, they completely separate; that they join again at Salathiel; but that, after his son, they again separate, and do not reunite again but in Joseph.

"In the same genealogy, St. Matthew again falls into a manifest contradiction, for he says that Uziah was the father of Jotham; and in the "Paralipomena," book 1. chap. iii. v. 11, 12, we find three generations between them, Joas, Amazias, and Azarias, of whom Luke, as well as Matthew, make no mention. Farther, this genealogy has nothing to do with that of Jesus, since, according to our creed, Joseph had had no intercourse with Mary."

In order to reply to this objection, urged from the time of Origen, and renewed from age to age, we must read Julius Africanus. See the two genealogies re-

* "Analysis of the Christian Religion," p. 22, ascribed to St. Evremond.

conciled in the following table, as we find it in the repository of ecclesiastical writers:—

DAVID.	
Solomon and his descendants, enumerated by Saint Matthew.	Nathan and his descendants, enumerated by Saint Luke.
ESTHER.	
Mathan, her first husband.	Melchi, or rather Mathat, her second husband.
Jacob, son of Mathan, the first husband.	<p>The wife of these two persons successively married first to Heli, by whom she had no child, and afterwards to Jacob, his brother.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Heli.</p>
Joseph, natural son of Jacob.	Legitimate son of Heli.

There is another method to reconcile the two genealogies, by St. Epiphanius.

According to him, Jacob Panther, descended from Solomon, is the father of Joseph and of Cleophas. Joseph has six children by his first wife; James, Joshua, Simeon, Jude, Mary, and Salome.

He then espouses the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, and daughter of Joachim and Anne.

There are many other methods of explaining these two genealogies. See the "Dissertation" of father Calmet, in which he endeavours to reconcile St. Matthew with St. Luke, on the genealogy of Jesus Christ.

The same learned sceptics, who make it their business to compare dates, to explore books and medals, to collate ancient authors, and to seek for truth by human skill and study, and who lose in their knowledge the simplicity of their faith, reproach St. Luke with contradicting the other evangelists, and in being mistaken in what he advances on the subject of our Lord's birth. The author of the "Analysis of the Christian Religion" thus rashly expresses himself on the subject (p. 23):

"St. Luke says that Cyrenius was the governor

of Syria, when Augustus ordered the numbering of all the people of the empire. We will show how many decided falsehoods are contained in these few words. First, Tacitus and Suetonius, the most precise of historians, say not a single word of the pretended numbering of the whole empire, which certainly would have been a very singular event, since there never had been one under any emperor, at least no author mentions such a case: secondly, Cyrenius did not arrive in Syria till ten years after the time fixed by St. Luke; it was then governed by Quintilius Varus, as Tertullian relates, and as is confirmed by medals."

We contend that, in fact, there never was a numbering of the whole Roman empire, but only a census of Roman citizens, according to usage; although it is possible that the copyists may have written "numbering" for "census." With regard to Cyrenius, whom the copyists have made Cirinus, it is certain that he was not governor of Syria at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ, the governor being Quintilius Varus; but it is very probable that Quintilius might send into Judea this same Cyrenius, who ten years after succeeded him in the government of Syria. We cannot dissemble, however, that this explanation still leaves some difficulties.

In the first place, the census made under Augustus does not correspond in time with the birth of Jesus Christ.

Secondly, the Jews were not comprised in that census. Joseph and his wife were not Roman citizens. Mary, therefore, it is said, being under no necessity, was not likely to go from Nazareth, which is at the extremity of Judea, within a few miles of Mount Tabor, in the midst of the desert, to lie in at Bethlem, which is eighty miles from Nazareth.

But it might easily happen that Cirinus, or Cyrenius, having been sent to Jerusalem by Quintilius Varus to impose a poll-tax, Joseph and Mary were summoned by the magistrate of Bethlem to go and pay the tax in the town of Bethlem, the place of their birth. In this there is nothing contradictory.

The critics may endeavour to weaken this solution by representing that it was Herod only who imposed taxes; that the Romans at that time levied nothing on Judea; that Augustus left Herod completely his own master for the tribute which that Idumean paid to the empire. But, in an emergency, it is not impossible to make some arrangement with a tributary prince, and send him an intendant to establish in concert with him the new tax.

We will not here say, like so many others, that copyists have committed many errors, and that in the version we possess there are to be found more than ten thousand,—we had rather say, with the doctors of the church and the most enlightened persons, that the gospels were given us only to teach us to live holily and not to criticise learnedly.

These pretended contradictions produced a dreadful impression on the much lamented John Meslier, rector of Etrepigni and But in Champagne. This truly virtuous and charitable, but at the same time melancholy man, being possessed of scarcely any other books than the Bible and some of the fathers, read them with a studiousness of attention that became fatal to him. Although bound by the duties of his office to inculcate docility upon his flock, he was not sufficiently docile himself. He saw apparent contradictions, and shut his eyes to the means suggested for reconciling them. He imagined that he perceived the most frightful contradictions between Jesus being born a Jew and afterwards recognised as God; in regard to that God known from the first as the son of Joseph the carpenter and the brother of James, yet descended from an empty-reum which does not exist, to destroy sin upon earth that is still covered with crimes; in regard to that God, the son of a common artizan and a descendant of David on the side of his father, who was not in fact his father;—between the creator of all worlds, and the descendant of the adulterous Bathsheba, the prurient Ruth, the incestuous Tamar, the prostitute of Jericho, the wife of Abraham, so suspiciously attractive to a king

of Egypt, and again at the age of ninety years to a king of Gerar.

Meslier expatiates with an impiety absolutely monstrous on these pretended contradictions, as they struck him, for which however he might easily have found an explanation, had he possessed only a small portion of docility. At length his gloom so grew upon him in his solitude, that he actually became horror-struck at that holy religion which it was his duty both to preach and love; and, listening only to his seduced and wandering reason, he abjured christianity by a will written in his own hand, of which he left three copies behind him at his death, which took place in 1732. The copy of this will has been often printed, and exhibits, in truth, a most cruel stumbling-block. A clergyman who, at the point of death, asks pardon of God and his parishioners for having taught the doctrines of christianity! a charitable clergyman, who holds christianity in execration because many who profess it are depraved; who is shocked at the pomp and pride of Rome, and exasperated by the difficulties of the sacred volume; a clergyman who speaks of christianity like Porphyry, Jamblicus, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Julian! And this just before he is to make his appearance before God! How fatal a case for him, and for all who may be led astray by his example!

In a similar manner the unfortunate preacher Anthony, misled by the apparent contradictions which he imagined he saw between the new and the old law, between the cultivated olive and the wild olive, wretchedly abandoned the Christian religion for the Jewish; and, more courageous than John Meslier, preferred death to recantation.

It is evident from the will of John Meslier, that the apparent contradictions of the gospels were the principal cause of unsettling the mind of that unfortunate pastor, who was, in other respects, a man of the strictest virtue, and whom it is impossible to think of without compassion. Meslier is deeply impressed by the two genealogies, which seem in direct opposition; he had not seen the method of reconciling them; he feels agi-

tated and provoked to see that St. Matthew makes the father and mother of the child travel into Egypt, after having received the homage of the three eastern magi or kings, and while old king Herod, under the apprehension of being dethroned by an infant just born at Bethlem, causes the slaughter of all the infants in the country, in order to prevent such a revolution. He is astonished that neither St. Luke, nor St. Mark, nor St. John, make any mention of this massacre. He is confounded at observing that St. Luke makes Joseph, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and Jesus our Saviour, remain at Bethlem, after which they withdraw to Nazareth. He should have seen that the Holy Family might at first go into Egypt, and some time afterwards to Nazareth, which was their country.

If St. Matthew alone makes mention of the three magi, and of the star which guided them to Bethlem from the remote climes of the east; and of the massacre of the children; if the other evangelists take no notice of these events, they do not contradict St. Matthew: silence is not contradiction.*

If the three first evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, make Jesus Christ to have lived but three months from his baptism in Galilee till his crucifixion at Jerusalem; and if St. John extends that time to three years and three months, it is easy to approximate St. John to the other evangelists, as he does not expressly state that Jesus Christ preached in Galilee for three years and three months, but only leaves it to be inferred from his narrative. Should a man renounce his religion upon simple inferences, upon points of controversy, upon difficulties in chronology?

It is impossible, says Meslier, to harmonise St. Mark and St. Luke; since the first says that Jesus, when he left the wilderness, went to Capernaum, and the second that he went to Nazareth.

St. John says that Andrew was the first who became

* People ought to read Voltaire before they abuse him. He reasons here precisely on the principle which has obtained so much credit for the late bishop of Landaff.—T.

a follower of Jesus Christ; the three other evangelists say that it was Simon Peter.

He pretends also that they contradict each other with respect to the day when Jesus celebrated the Passover, the hour and place of his execution, the time of his appearance and resurrection. He is convinced that books which contradict each other cannot be inspired by the holy spirit; but it is not an article of faith to believe, that the holy spirit inspired every syllable; it did not guide the hand of the copyists; it permitted the operation of secondary causes; it was sufficient that it condescended to reveal the principal mysteries, and that in the course of time it instituted a church for explaining them. All those contradictions with which the gospels have been so often and so bitterly reproached, are explained by sagacious commentators; far from being injurious, they mutually clear up each other, they present reciprocal helps in the concordances and harmony of the four gospels.

And if there are many difficulties which we cannot solve, mysteries which we cannot comprehend, adventures which we cannot credit, prodigies which shock the weakness of the human understanding, and contradictions which it is impossible to reconcile, it is in order to exercise our faith and to humiliate our reason.

Contradictions in Judgments upon Works of Literature or Art.

I have sometimes heard it said of a good judge on these subjects, and of exquisite taste, that man decides according to mere caprice. He yesterday described Poussin as an admirable painter, to-day he represents him as an ordinary one. The fact is, that Poussin has merited both praise and censure.

There is no contradiction in being enraptured by the delicious scenes of the Horatii and Curiatii, of the Cid, of Augustus and of Cinna, and afterwards in seeing, with disgust and indignation, fifteen tragedies in succession, containing no interest, no beauty, and not even written in French.

It is the author himself who is contradictory. It

is he who has the misfortune to differ entirely from himself. The critic would contradict himself if he equally applauded what is excellent and detestable. He will admire in Homer the description of the girdle of Venus; the parting of Hector and Andromache; the interview between Achilles and Priam. But will he equally applaud those passages which describe the Gods as abusing, and fighting with each other; the uniformity in battles which decide nothing; the brutal ferocity of the heroes and the avarice by which they are almost all actuated; in short, a poem which terminates with a truce of eleven days, unquestionably exciting an expectation of the continuation of the war and the taking of Troy, which however are not related?

A good critic will frequently pass from approbation to censure, however excellent the work may be which he is perusing.

CONTRAST.

CONTRAST, opposition of figures, situations, fortune, manners, &c. A modest shepherdess forms a beautiful contrast in a painting with a haughty princess. The part of the impostor and that of Aristes constitute an admirable contrast in the *Tartuffe*.

The little may contrast with the great, in painting, but cannot be said to be contrary to it. Oppositions of colours contrast; but there are also colours contrary to each other, that is, which produce an ill effect because they shock the eye when brought very near it.

“Contradictory” is a term to be used only in logic. It is contradictory for anything to be and not be; to be in many places at once; to be of a certain number or size, and not to be so. An opinion, a discourse, or a decree, we may call contradictory.

The different fortunes of Charles XII. have been contrary, but not contradictory; they form in history a beautiful contrast.

It is a striking contrast,—and the two things are perfectly contrary,—but it is not contradictory, that the pope should be worshipped at Rome, and burnt at

London, on the same day; that while he was called God's vicegerent in Italy, he should be represented in the streets of Moscow as a hog, for the amusement of Peter the Great.

Mahomet, stationed at the right hand of God over half the globe, and damned over the other half, is the greatest of contrasts.

Travel far from your own country, and everything will be contrast for you.

The white man who first saw a negro was much astonished; but the first who said that the negro was the offspring of a white pair astonishes me much more; I do not agree with him. A painter who represents white men, negroes, and olive-coloured people, may display fine contrasts.

CONVULSIONARIES.

ABOUT the year 1724, the cemetery of St. Medard abounded in amusement, and many miracles were performed there. The following epigram by the Duchess of Maine gives a tolerable account of the character of most of them :—

Une decroteur à la Royale,
Du talon gauche estropié,
Obtient, pour grace speciale,
D'être tortueux de l'autre pié.

A Port-Royal shoe-black, who had *one* lame leg,
To make both alike the Lord's favour did beg;
Heav'n listen'd, and straightway a miracle came,
For quickly he rose up, with *both* his legs lame.

The miracles continued, as is well known, until a guard was stationed at the cemetery.

De par le roi, défense à Dieu
De faire miracles en ce lieu.

Louis to God:—To keep the peace,
Here miracles must henceforth cease.

It is also well known that the jesuits being no longer able to perform similar miracles, in consequence of Xavier having exhausted their stock of grace and miraculous power, by resuscitating nine dead persons at one time, resolved, in order to counteract the credit of

the Jansenists, to engrave a print of Jesus Christ dressed as a Jesuit. The Jansenists, on the other hand, in order to give a satisfactory proof that Jesus Christ had not assumed the habit of a Jesuit, filled Paris with convulsions, and attracted great crowds of people to witness them. The counsellor of parliament, Carré de Montgeron, went to present to the king a quarto collection of all these miracles, attested by a thousand witnesses. He was very properly shut up in a chateau, where attempts were made to restore his senses by regimen; but truth always prevails over persecution, and the miracles lasted for thirty years together, without interruption. Sister Rose, sister Illuminée, and the sisters Promise and Comfitte, were scourged with great energy, without, however, exhibiting any appearance of the whipping next day. They were bastinadoed on their stomachs without injury, and placed before a large fire, but being defended by certain pomades and preparations, were not burnt. At length, as every art is constantly advancing towards perfection, their persecutors concluded with actually thrusting swords through their chairs, and with crucifying them. A famous schoolmaster had also the benefit of crucifixion; all which was done to convince the world that a certain bull was ridiculous, a fact that might have been easily proved without so much trouble. However, Jesuits and Jansenists, all united against the "Spirit of Laws," and against . . . and against . . . and against . . . and . . . And after all this, we dare to ridicule Laplanders, Samoièdes, and Negroes!

CORN.*

THEY must be sceptics indeed who doubt that *pain* comes from *panis*. But to make bread we must have corn. The Gauls had corn in the time of Cæsar:

* The new light thrown upon the subject of corn by the political economists, and the progress of general information, in a great degree supersede the information and remarks of Voltaire; so that little more is retained of this article, than a few facts and pleasantries, conveyed in his own very peculiar vein.—T.

but whence did they take the word *blé*? It is pretended that it is from *bladum*, a word employed in the barbarous Latin of the middle age by the chancellor Desvignes, or de Erneis, whose eyes, it is said, were torn out by order of the emperor Frederick II.

But the Latin words of these barbarous ages were only ancient Celtic or Teutonic words Latinized. *Bladum* then comes from our *blead*, and not our *blead* from *bladum*. The Italians call it *bioda*, and the countries in which the ancient Roman language is preserved still say *blia*.

This knowledge is not infinitely useful; but we are curious to know where the Gauls and Teutones found corn to sow? We are told that the Tyrians brought it into Spain, the Spaniards into Gaul, and the Gauls into Germany. And where did the Tyrians get this corn? Probably from the Greeks, in exchange for their alphabet.

Who made this present to the Greeks? It was the goddess Ceres, without doubt; and having ascended to Ceres, we can scarcely go any higher. Ceres must have descended from heaven expressly to give us wheat, rye, and barley.

However, as the credit of Ceres, who gave corn to the Greeks, and that of Ishet or Isis, who gratified the Egyptians with it, are at present very much decayed, we may still be said to remain in uncertainty as to the origin of corn.

Sanchoniathon tells us that Dagon or Dagan, one of the grandsons of Thaut, had the superintendence of the corn in Phœnicia. Now his Thaut was near the time of our Jared; from which it appears that corn is very ancient, and that it is of the same antiquity as grass. Perhaps this Dagon was the first who made bread; but that is not demonstrated.

What a strange thing that we should know positively that we are obliged to Noah for wine, and that we do not know to whom we owe the invention of bread. And what is still more strange, we are still so ungrateful to Noah, that while we have more than two thousand

songs in honour of Bacchus, we scarcely sing one in honour of our benefactor Noah.

A Jew assured me that corn came without cultivation in Mesopotamia, as apples, wild pears, chesnuts, and medlars, in the west. It is as well to believe him, until we are sure of the contrary; for it is necessary that corn should grow spontaneously somewhere. It has become the ordinary and indispensable nourishment in the finest climates, and in all the north.

The great philosophers whose talents we estimate so highly, and whose systems we do not follow, have pretended, in the natural history of the dog (page 195) that men created corn; and that our ancestors, by means of sowing tares and cow-grass together, changed them into wheat. As these philosophers are not of our opinion on shells, they will permit us to differ from them on corn. We do not think that tulips could ever have been produced from jasmine. We find that the germ of corn is quite different from that of tares, and we do not believe in any transmutation. When it shall be proved to us, we will retract.

We have seen, in the article BREAD-TREE, that in three quarters of the earth bread is not eaten. It is pretended that the Ethiopians laughed at the Egyptians, who lived on bread. But since corn is our chief nourishment, it has become one of the greatest objects of commerce and politics. So much has been written on this subject, that if a labourer sowed as many pounds of wheat as we have volumes on this commodity, he might expect a more ample harvest, and become richer than those who, in their painted and gilded saloons, are ignorant of the excess of his oppression and misery.

Egypt became the best country in the world for wheat, when, after several ages, which it is difficult to reckon exactly, the inhabitants found the secret of rendering a destructive river, which had always inundated the country, and was only useful to the rats, insects, reptiles, and crocodiles of Egypt, serviceable to the fecundity of the soil. Its waters, mixed with a black mud, were neither useful to quench the thirst of the

inhabitants, nor for ablution. It must have taken immense time and a prodigious labour to subdue the river, to divide it into canals, to found towns on lands formerly moveable, and to change the caverns of the rocks into vast buildings.

All this is more astonishing than the pyramids; for being accomplished, behold a people sure of the best corn in the world, without the necessity of labour! It is the inhabitant of this country who raises and fattens poultry superior to that of Caux, who is habited in the finest linen in the most temperate climate, and who has none of the real wants of other people.

Towards the year 1750, the French nation, surfeited with tragedies, comedies, operas, romances, and romantic histories—with moral reflections still more romantic, and with theological disputes on grace and on convulsionaries, began to reason upon corn. They even forgot the vine, in treating of wheat and rye. Useful things were written on agriculture, and every body read them except the labourers. The good people imagined, as they walked out of the comic opera, that France had a prodigious quantity of corn to sell, and the cry of the nation at last obtained of the government, in 1764, the liberty of exportation.

Accordingly they exported. The result was exactly what it had been in the time of Henry IV. they sold a little too much, and a barren year succeeding, Mademoiselle Bernard * was obliged, for the second time, to sell her necklace to get linen and chemises. Now the complainants passed from one extreme to the other and exclaimed against the exportation that they had so recently demanded, which shows how difficult it is to please all the world and his wife.

Able and well-meaning people, without interest, have written with as much sagacity as courage, in favour of the unlimited liberty of the commerce in grain. Others of as much mind, and with equally pure views, have written in the idea of limiting this liberty; and the Neapolitan abbé Gagliani amused the French nation on the export-

* A celebrated milliner.

tation of corn, by finding out the secret of making, even in French, dialogues as amusing as our best romances, and as instructive as our good serious books. If this work did not diminish the price of bread, it gave great pleasure to the nation, which was what it valued most. The partisans of unlimited exportation answered him smartly. The result was, that the readers no longer knew where they were, and the greater part took to reading romances, expecting that the three or four following years of abundance would enable them to judge. The ladies were no longer able to distinguish wheat from rye, while honest devotees continued to believe, that grain must lie and rot in the ground, in order to spring up again.

COUNCILS.*

Meetings of Ecclesiastics, called together to resolve Doubts, or Questions on Points of Faith or Discipline.

THE use of councils was not unknown to the followers of the ancient religion of Zerdusht, whom we call Zoroaster.† About the year 200 of our era, Ardeshir Babecan, king of Persia, called together forty thousand priests, to consult them touching some of his doubts about paradise and hell, which they call the *gehen*—a term adopted by the Jews during their captivity at Babylon, as they did the names of the angels and of the months. Erdoviraph, the most celebrated of the magi, having drunk three glasses of a soporific wine, had an extasy which lasted seven days and seven nights, during which his soul was transported to God. When the paroxysm was over, he re-assured the faith of the king, by relating to

* The subject matter of each of these three sections of the article COUNCILS being precisely the same, we think it necessary once more to observe, that the different sections which compose each article being, in almost every instance, taken from works published separately, cannot but contain some repetitions: but as the tone of each article, the reflections, or the manner of introducing them, is almost always different, we have thought proper to preserve each entire.—*French Editor's Note.*

† Hyde—Religion of the Persians, chap. xxi.

him the great many wonderful things he had seen in the other world, and having them written down.

We know that Jesus was called *Christ*, a Greek word signifying *anointed*; and his doctrine *Christianity*, or *gospel*, i. e. *good news*, because having, as was his custom, entered one sabbath-day the synagogue of Nazareth, where he was brought up, he applied to himself this passage of Isaiah; which he had just read: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor."* They of the synagogue did, to be sure, drive him out of their town, and carry him to a point of the hill, on which it was built, in order to throw him headlong from it; and his relatives "went out to lay hold on him," for they were told, and they said, "that he was beside himself."† Nor is it less certain that Jesus constantly declared, he was come not to destroy the law or the prophecies, but to fulfil them.‡

But, as he left nothing written,§ his first disciples were divided on the famous question, whether the Gentiles were to be circumcised and ordered to keep the Mosaic law. The apostles and the priests, therefore, assembled at Jerusalem to examine this point; and, after many conferences, they wrote to the brethren among the Gentiles, at Antioch, in Syria, and in Cilicia, a letter of which we give the substance:—"It has seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, not to impose upon you any obligations but those which are necessary, viz. to abstain from meats offered up to idols, from blood, from the flesh of choked animals, and from fornication."

The decision of this council did not prevent Peter, when at Antioch, from continuing to eat with the Gentiles, before some of the circumcised, who came from James, had arrived.|| But Paul, seeing that he did not walk straight in the path of gospel truth, resisted him

* Luke chap. iv. 18.

† Mark, chap. iii. v. 21.

‡ Matthew, chap. v. ver. 17.

§ St. Jerome on chap. xlv. v. 29 of Ezechiel.

|| Galatians, chap. ii. v. 11, 12, 13, &c.

to the face, saying to him before them all, "If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" Indeed Peter had lived like the Gentiles ever since he had seen, in a trance, "heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet, knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth: Wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter, kill, and eat."*

Paul, who so loudly reproved Peter for using this dissimulation to make them believe that he still observed the law, had himself recourse to a similar feint at Jerusalem. † Being accused of teaching the Jews who were among the Gentiles to renounce Moses, he went and purified himself in the temple for seven days, in order that all might know that what they had heard of him was false, and that he continued to observe the law: this, too, was done by the advice of all the priests, assembled at the house of James,—which priests were the same who had decided, with the Holy Ghost, that these observances were unnecessary.

Councils were afterwards distinguished into general and particular. Particular councils are of three kinds—national, convoked by the prince, the patriarch, or the primate; provincial, assembled by the metropolitan or archbishop; and diocesan, or synods held by each bishop. The following is a decree of one of the councils held at Macon:—

"Whenever a layman meet a priest or a deacon on the road, he shall offer him his arm: if the priest and the layman are both on horseback, the layman shall stop and salute the priest reverently; and if the priest be on foot, and the layman on horseback, the layman shall dismount, and shall not mount again until the ecclesiastic be at a certain distance:—all on pain of interdiction for as long a time as it shall please the metropolitan."

* Acts, chap. x. v. 10, 13.

† Acts, chap. xxi. v. 23.

The list of the councils, in Moréri's Dictionary, occupies more than sixteen pages : but as authors are not agreed concerning the number of general councils, we shall here confine ourselves to the results of the first eight that were assembled by order of the emperors.

Two priests of Alexandria, seeking to know whether Jesus was God or creature, not only did the bishops and priests dispute, but the whole people were divided, and the disorder arrived at such a pitch that the pagans ridiculed Christianity on the stage. The emperor Constantine first wrote in these terms to bishop Alexander and the priest Arius, the authors of the dissension : " These questions, which are unnecessary, and spring only from unprofitable idleness, may be discussed in order to exercise the intellect ; but they should not be repeated in the hearing of the people. Being divided on so small a matter, it is not just that you should govern according to your thoughts so great a multitude of God's people. Such conduct is mean and puerile, unworthy of the priestly office, and of men of sense. I do not say this to compel you entirely to agree on this frivolous question, whatever it is. You may, with a private difference, preserve unity, provided these subtleties and different opinions remain secret in your inmost thoughts."

The emperor, having learned that his letter was without effect, resolved, by the advice of the bishops, to convoke an œcumenical council—i. e. a council of the whole habitable earth, and chose for the place of meeting the town of Nicea, in Bithynia. There came thither two thousand and forty-eight bishops, who, as Eutychius relates,* were all of different sentiments and opinions. This prince, having had the patience to hear them dispute on this point, was much surprised at finding among them so little unanimity ; and the author of the Arabic preface to this council says, that the records of these disputes amounted to forty volumes.

* Annals of Alexandria, p. 440.

This prodigious number of bishops will not appear incredible, when it is recollected that Usher, quoted by Selden,* relates that St. Patrick, who lived in the fifth century, founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and ordained the like number of bishops; which proves that then each church had its bishop, that is, its over-looker.

In the council of Nice there was read a letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia, containing manifest heresy, and discovering the cabal of Arius's party. In it was said, amongst other things, that if Jesus were acknowledged to be the Son of God uncreated, he must also be acknowledged to be consubstantial with the Father. Therefore it was that Athanasius, a deacon of Alexandria, persuaded the fathers to dwell on the word *consubstantial*, which had been rejected as improper by the council of Antioch, held against Paul of Samosata; but he took it in a gross sense, marking division; as we say, that several pieces of money are of the same metal: whereas the orthodox explained the term *consubstantial* so well, that the emperor himself comprehended that it involved no corporeal idea—signified no division of the absolutely immaterial and spiritual substance of the Father—but was to be understood in a divine and ineffable sense. They moreover showed the injustice of the Arians in rejecting this word on pretence that it was not in the scriptures—they who employ so many words which are not there to be found: and who say that the Son of God was brought out of nothing, and had not existed from all eternity.

Constantine then wrote two letters at the same time, to give publicity to the ordinances of the council, and make them known to such as had not attended it. The first, addressed to the churches in general, says, in so many words, that the question of the faith has been examined, and so well cleared up, that no difficulty remains. In the second, amongst others, the church of Alexandria in particular is thus addressed:—"What

three hundred bishops have ordained is no other than the seed of the only Son of God; the Holy Ghost has declared the will of God through these great men whom he inspired. Now, then, let none doubt, let none dispute, but each one return with all his heart into the way of truth."

The ecclesiastical writers are not agreed as to the number of bishops who subscribed to the ordinances of this council. Eusebius reckons only two hundred and fifty;* Eustatius of Antioch, cited by Theodoret, two hundred and seventy; St. Athanasius, in his epistle to the Solitaries, three hundred, like Constantine; while, in his letter to the Africans, he speaks of three hundred and eighteen. Yet these four authors were eye-witnesses, and worthy of great faith.

This number 318, which pope St. Leo calls mysterious,† has been adopted by most of the fathers of the church. St. Ambrose assures us that the number of three hundred and eighteen bishops was a proof of the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in his council of Nicea; because the cross designates three hundred, and the name of Jesus eighteen.‡ St. Hilary, in his defence of the word *consubstantial*, approved in the council of Nice though condemned fifty-five years before in the council of Antioch, reasons thus:—"Eighty bishops rejected the word *consubstantial*, but three hundred and eighteen have received it. Now this latter number seems to me a sacred number; for it is that of the men who accompanied Abraham, when, after his victory over the impious kings, he was blessed by him who is the type of the eternal priesthood." And Selden relates,§ that Dorotheus, metropolitan of Monembasis, said there were precisely three hundred and eighteen fathers at this council because three hundred

* The rest of the 2048 had not, it seems, time to stay until the end of the council; or perhaps this number is to be understood of those who were convoked, and not of those who were able to repair to Nicea.

† Letter 132.

‡ Book iv. chap. 9. of the Faith.

§ Page 80.

and eighteen years had elapsed since the Incarnation. All chronologists place this council in the year 325 of the modern era; but Dorotheus deducts seven years, to make his comparison correct: this, however, is a mere trifle. Besides, it was not until the council of Lestines, in 743, that the years began to be counted from the incarnation of Jesus. Dionysius the Less had imagined this epoch in his solar cycle of the year 526; and Bede had made use of it in his Ecclesiastical History.

It will not be a subject of astonishment, that Constantine adopted the opinion of the three hundred or three hundred and eighteen bishops who held the divinity of Jesus, when it is borne in mind that Eusebius of Nicomedia, one of the principal leaders of the Arian party, had been an accomplice in the cruelty of Licinius, in the massacres of the bishops, and the persecutions of the Christians. Of this the emperor himself accuses him in the private letter which he wrote to the church of Nicomedia:—

“He sent spies about me,” says he, “in the troubles, and did everything but take up arms for the tyrant. I have proofs of this from the priests and deacons of his train, whom I took. During the council of Nicea, with what eagerness and what impudence he maintained, against the testimony of his conscience, the error exploded on every side! repeatedly imploring my protection, lest, being convicted of so great a crime, he should lose his dignity. He shamefully circumvented and took me by surprise, and carried everything as he chose. Again, see what has been done but lately, by him and Theogenes.”

Constantine here alludes to the fraud which Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theogenes of Nicea resorted to in subscribing. In the word “*omoousios*” they inserted an iota, making it “*omoiousios*,” meaning of like substance; whereas the first means of *the same* substance. We hereby see that these bishops yielded to the fear of being displaced or banished; for the emperor had threatened with exile such as should not subscribe. The other Eusebius too, bishop of Cæsarea, approved

the word *consubstantial*, after condemning it the day before.

However, Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais continued obstinately attached to Arius; and, the council having condemned them with him, Constantine banished them, and declared by an edict, that whosoever should be convicted of concealing any of the writings of Arius instead of burning them, should be punished with death. Three months after, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theogenes were likewise exiled into Gaul. It is said that, having gained over the individual who, by the emperor's order, kept the acts of the council, they had erased their signatures, and begun to teach in public that the Son must not be believed to be consubstantial with the Father.

Happily, to replace their signatures and preserve entire the mysterious number three hundred and eighteen; the expedient was tried of laying the book, in which the acts were divided into sessions, on the tomb of Chrysanthus and Mysonius, who had died while the council was holding: the night was passed in prayer, and the next morning it was found that these two bishops had signed.*

It was by an expedient nearly similar, that the fathers of the same council distinguished the authentic from the apocryphal books of scripture. Having placed them all together upon the altar, the apocryphal books fell to the ground of themselves.

Two other councils assembled by the emperor Constantine, in the year 359; the one, of upwards of four hundred bishops, at Rimini; the other, of more than a hundred and fifty, at Seleucia; after long debates, rejected the word *consubstantial*, already condemned, as we have before said, by a council of Antioch. But these councils are recognised only by the Socinians.

The Nicene fathers had been so much occupied with the consubstantiality of the Son, that they had made no mention of the church in their symbol, but

* Nicephorus, book viii. chap. 23.—Baronius and Aurelius Peruginus on the year 325.

contented themselves with saying, We also believe in the Holy Ghost. This omission was supplied in the second general council, convoked at Constantinople in 381, by Theodosius. The Holy Ghost was there declared to be the Lord and giver of life, proceeding from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets. Afterwards the Latin church would have the Holy Ghost proceed from the Son also; and the "filioque" was added to the symbol: first in Spain, in 447; then in France, at the council of Lyons, in 1274; and lastly at Rome, notwithstanding the complaints made by the Greeks against this innovation.

The divinity of Jesus being once established, it was natural to give to his mother the title of Mother of God. However, Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, maintained in his sermons that this would be justifying the folly of the pagans, who gave mothers to their gods. Theodosius the younger, to have this great question decided, assembled the third general council at Ephesus, in the year 431, and in it Mary was acknowledged to be the Mother of God.

Another heresy of Nestorius, likewise condemned at Ephesus, was that of admitting two persons in Jesus. Nevertheless, the patriarch Photius subsequently acknowledged two natures in Jesus. A monk named Eutyches, who had already exclaimed loudly against Nestorius, affirmed, the better to contradict them both, that Jesus had also but one nature. But this time the monk was wrong; although, in 449, his opinion had been maintained by blows in a numerous council at Ephesus. Eutyches was nevertheless anathematised, two years afterwards, by the fourth general council, held under the emperor Marcian at Chalcedon, in which two natures were assigned to Jesus.

It was still to be determined, with one person and two natures, how many wills Jesus was to have. The fifth general council, which in the year 553 quelled, by Justinian's order, the contentions about the doctrine of three bishops, had no leisure to settle this important point. It was not until the year 680, that

the sixth general council, also convened at Constantinople by Constantine Pogonatus, informed us that Jesus had precisely two wills. This council, in condemning the monothelites, who admitted only one, made no exception from the anathema in favour of pope Honorius I. who, in a letter given by Baronius,* had said to the patriarch of Constantinople—

“We confess in Jesus Christ one-only will. We do not see that either the councils or the scriptures authorise us to think otherwise. But whether, from the works of divinity and of humanity which are in him, we are to look for two operations, is a point of little importance, and one which I leave it to the grammarians to decide.”

Thus, in this instance, with God's permission, the account between the Greek and Latin churches was balanced. As the patriarch Nestorius had been condemned for acknowledging two persons in Jesus, so pope Honorius was now condemned for admitting but one will in Jesus.

The seventh general council, or the second of Nice, was assembled in 787, by Constantine, son of Leo and Irene, to re-establish the worship of images. The reader must know, that two councils of Constantinople, the first in 730, under the emperor Leo, the other twenty-four years after, under Constantine Copronymus, had thought proper to proscribe images, conformably to the Mosaic law and to the usage of the early ages of Christianity. So also the Nicene decree, in which it is said, that “whosoever shall not render service and adoration to the images of the saints as to the Trinity, shall be deemed anathematised,” at first encountered some opposition. The bishops who introduced it, in a council of Constantinople held in 789, were turned out by soldiers. The same decree was also rejected with scorn by the council of Frankfort in 794, and by the Caroline books, published by order of Charlemagne. But the second council of Nice was at length confirmed at Constantinople under the emperor Mi-

* Year 636.

chael and his mother Theodora, in the year 842, by a numerous council, which anathematised the enemies of holy images. Be it here observed, it was by two women, the empresses Irene and Theodora, that the images were protected.

We pass on to the eighth general council. Under the emperor Basilius, Photius, ordained patriarch of Constantinople in place of Ignatius, had the Latin church condemned for the "filioque" and other practices, by a council of the year 866: but Ignatius being recalled the following year, another council removed Photius; and in the year 869 the Latins, in their turn, condemned the Greek church in what they called the eighth general council—while those in the east gave this name to another council, which, ten years after, annulled what the preceding one had done, and restored Photius.

These four councils were held at Constantinople: the others, called *general* by the Latins, having been composed of the bishops of the west only, the popes, with the aid of false decretals, gradually arrogated the right of convoking them. The last of these which assembled at Trent, from 1545 to 1563, neither served to convert the enemies of papacy nor to subdue them. Its decrees, in discipline, have been scarcely admitted into any one catholic nation: its only effect has been to verify these words of St. Gregory Nazianzen;—"I have not seen one council that has acted with good faith, or that has not augmented the evils complained of rather than cured them. Ambition and the love of disputation, beyond the power of words to express, reign in every assembly of bishops."*

However, the council of Constance, in 1415, having decided that a council-general receives its authority immediately from Jesus Christ, which authority every person, of whatever rank or dignity, is bound to obey in all that concerns the faith; and the council of Basil

* Letter 55.—And in his poems, Latin translation—

"Non ego cum gruibus simul anseribusque sedebo,
In synodis"

having afterwards confirmed this decree, which it holds to be an article of faith which cannot be neglected without renouncing salvation, it is clear how deeply every one is interested in paying submission to councils.

SECTION II.

Notice of the General Councils.

Assembly, council of state, parliament, states-general, formerly signified the same thing. In the primitive ages nothing was written in Celtic, nor in German, nor in Spanish. The little that was written was conceived in the Latin tongue by a few clerks, who expressed every meeting of *lendes*, *herren*, or *ricos ombres*, by the word *concilium*. Hence it is that we find in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, so many councils which were nothing more than councils of state.

We shall here speak only of the great councils called *general*, whether by the Greek or by the Latin church. At Rome they were called *synods*, as they were in the east in the primitive ages,—for the Latins borrowed names as well as things from the Greeks.

In 325 there was a great council in the city of Nicea, convoked by Constantine. The form of its decision was this :—" We believe that Jesus is of one substance with the Father, God of God, light of light, begotten, not made. We also believe in the Holy Ghost."*

Nicephorus affirms,† that two bishops, Chrysanthus and Mysonius, who had died during the first sittings, rose again to sign the condemnation of Arius, and incontinently died again, as I have already observed.

Baronius maintains this fact,‡ but Fleuri says nothing of it.

In 359, the emperor Constantius assembled the great council of Rimini and of Seleucia, consisting of six hundred bishops, with a prodigious number of priests. These two councils, corresponding together,

* See ARIANISM. · † Book viii. ch. 23. ‡ Tom. iv. No. 82.

undo all that the council of Nice did, and proscribe the consubstantiality. But this was afterwards regarded as a false council.

In 381 was held, by order of the emperor Theodosius, a great council at Constantinople, of one hundred and fifty bishops, who anathematise the council of Rimini. St. Gregory Nazianzen presides, and the bishop of Rome sends deputies to it. Now is added to the Nicene symbol:—"Jesus Christ was incarnate, by the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary. He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate. He was buried, and on the third day he rose again, according to the scriptures. He sits at the right hand of the Father. We also believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father."

In 431, a great council of Ephesus, convoked by the emperor Theodosius II. Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, having violently persecuted all who were not of his opinion on theological points, undergoes persecution in his turn, for having maintained that the holy Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, was not mother of God; because, said he, Jesus Christ being the word, the Son of God, consubstantial with his Father, Mary could not, at the same time, be mother of God the Father and of God the Son. St. Cyril exclaims loudly against him. Nestorius demands an œcumenical council, and obtains it. Nestorius is condemned; but Cyril is also displaced by a committee of the council. The emperor reverses all that has been done in this council, then permits it to re-assemble. The deputies from Rome arrive very late. The troubles increasing, the emperor has Nestorius and Cyril arrested. At last, he orders all the bishops to return, each to his church, and no conclusion is come to. Such was the famous council of Ephesus.

In 449, another great council at Ephesus, afterwards called "the Banditti." The number of bishops assembled is a hundred and thirty; and Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, presided. There

are two deputies from the church of Rome and several abbots. The question is, whether Jesus Christ has two natures. The bishops and all the monks of Egypt exclaim, that "all who would divide Jesus Christ, ought themselves to be torn in two." The two natures are anathematised; and there is a fight in full council, as at the little council of Ciritha in 355, and at the minor council of Carthage.

In 452, the great council of Chalcedon was convoked by Pulcheria, who married Marcian on condition that he should be only the highest of her subjects. St. Leo, bishop of Rome, having great influence, takes advantage of the troubles which the quarrel about the two natures has occasioned in the empire, and presides at the council by his legates,—of which we have no former example. But the fathers of the council, apprehending that the church of the west will, from this precedent, pretend to the superiority over that of the east, decide by their twenty-eighth canon, that the see of Constantinople, and that of Rome, shall enjoy alike the same advantages and the same privileges. This was the origin of the long enmity which prevailed, and still prevails, between the two churches.

This council of Chalcedon established the two natures in one only person.

Nicephorus relates, that at this same council the bishops, after a long dispute on the subject of images, laid each his opinion in writing on the tomb of St. Euphemia, and passed the night in prayer. The next morning, the orthodox writings were found in the saint's hand, and the others at her feet.

In 553, a great council at Constantinople was convoked by Justinian, who was an amateur theologian, to discuss three small writings, called *the three chapters*, of which nothing is now known. There were also disputes on some passages of Origen.

Vigilius, bishop of Rome, would have gone thither in person; but Justinian had him put in prison, and the patriarch of Constantinople presided. No member of the Latin church attended; for at that time Greek

was no longer understood in the west, which had become entirely barbarous.

In 680, another general council at Constantinople was convoked by Constantine the bearded. This was the first council called by the Latins in *trullo*, because it was held in an apartment of the imperial palace. The emperor himself presided; on his right hand were the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch; on his left, the deputies from Rome and Jerusalem. It was there decided that Jesus Christ had two wills; and Pope Honorius I. was condemned as a monothelite, i. e. as wishing Jesus Christ to have but one will.

In 787, the second council of Nice was convoked by Irene, in the name of the emperor Constantine, her son, whom she had deprived of his eyes. Her husband Leo had abolished the worship of images, as contrary to the simplicity of the primitive ages, and leading to idolatry. Irene re-established this worship; she herself spoke in the council, which was the only one held by a woman. Two legates from pope Adrian IV. attended; but did not speak, for they did not understand Greek: the patriarch did all.

Seven years after, the Franks, having heard that a council at Constantinople had ordained the adoration of images, assemble, by order of Charles son of Pepin, afterwards named Charlemagne, a very numerous council at Frankfort. Here the second council of Nice is spoken of as "an impertinent and arrogant synod, held in Greece for the worshipping of pictures."

In 842, a great council at Constantinople was convoked by the empress Theodora. The worship of images solemnly established. The Greeks have still a feast in honour of this council, called the *orthodoxia*. Theodora did not preside.

In 861, a great council at Constantinople, consisting of three hundred and eighteen bishops, was convoked by the emperor Michæl. St. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, is deposed, and Photius elected.

In 866, another great council was held at Constantinople, in which pope Nicholas III. is deposed for contumacy, and excommunicated.

In 869 was another great council at Constantinople, in which Photius, in turn, is deposed and excommunicated, and St. Ignatius restored.

In 879, another great council assembled at Constantinople, in which Photius, already restored, is acknowledged as true patriarch by the legates of pope John VIII. Here the great œcumenical council, in which Photius was deposed, receives the appellation of "conciliabulum."

Pope John VIII. declares all those to be Judases, who say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

In 1122-3, a great council at Rome was held in the church of St. John of Lateran by pope Calixtus II. This was the first general council convoked by the popes. The emperors of the west had now scarcely any authority; and the emperors of the east, pressed by the Mahometans and by the crusaders, held none but little wretched councils.

It is not precisely known what this Lateran was. Some small councils had before been assembled in the Lateran. Some say that it was a house built by one Lateran in Nero's time; others, that it was St. John's church itself, built by bishop Sylvester.

In this council the bishops complained heavily of the monks. "They possess," said they, "the churches, the lands, the castles, the tithes, the offerings of the living and the dead; they have only to take from us the ring and the crosier." The monks remained in possession.

In 1139 was another great council of Lateran, by pope Innocent II. It is said there were present a thousand bishops. A great many, certainly. Here the ecclesiastical tithes are declared to be of *divine right*, and all laymen possessing any of them are excommunicated.

In 1179 was another great council of Lateran, by pope Alexander III. There are three hundred bishops and one Greek abbot. The decrees are all on discipline. The plurality of benefices is forbidden.

In 1215 was the last general council of Lateran, by pope Innocent III. Four hundred and twelve bishops,

and eight hundred abbots. At this time, which is that of the crusades, the popes have established a Latin patriarch at Jerusalem, and one at Constantinople. These patriarchs attend the council. This great council says, that "God having given the doctrine of salvation to men by Moses, at length caused his son to be born of a virgin, to show the way more clearly," and that "no one can be saved out of the catholic church."

The word *transubstantiation* was not known until after this council. It forbade the establishment of new religious orders; but, since that time, no less than eighty have been instituted.

It was in this council that Raimond, count of Toulouse, was stripped of all his lands.

In 1245, a great council assembled at the imperial city of Lyons. Innocent IV. brings thither the emperor of Constantinople, John Paleologus, and makes him sit beside him. He deposes the emperor Frederic as a *felon*, and gives the cardinals a red hat, as a sign of hostility to Frederick. This was the source of thirty years of civil war.

In 1274, another general council was held at Lyons. Five hundred bishops, seventy great and a thousand lesser abbots. The Greek emperor Michael Paleologus, that he may have the protection of the pope, sends his Greek patriarch Theophanes to unite, in his name, with the Latin church. But the Greek church disowns these bishops.

In 1311, pope Clement V. assembled a general council in the small town of Vienne, in Dauphiny, in which he abolishes the order of the Templars. It is here ordained that the Bégares, Béguins, and Béguines, shall be burned. These were a species of heretics, to whom was imputed all that had formerly been imputed to the primitive christians.

In 1414, the great council of Constance was convoked by an emperor who resumes his rights, viz. by Sigismund. Here pope John XXIII. convicted of numerous crimes, is deposed; and John Huss and Jerome of Prague, convicted of obstinacy, are burned.

In 1431, a great council was held at Basle, where they in vain depose pope Eugene IV. who is too clever for the council.

In 1438, a great council assembled at Ferrara, transferred to Florence, where the excommunicated pope excommunicates the council, and declares it guilty of high treason. Here a feigned union is made with the Greek church, crushed by the Turkish synods held sword in hand:

Pope Julius II. would have had his council of Lateran, in 1512, pass for an œcumenical council. In it that pope solemnly excommunicated Louis XII. king of France, laid France under an interdict, summoned the whole parliament of Provence to appear before him, and excommunicated all the philosophers, because most of them had taken part with Louis XII. Yet this council was not, like that of Ephesus, called the Council of Robbers.

In 1537, the council of Trent was convoked first at Mantua by Paul III. afterwards at Trent in 1543, and terminated in December 1561, under Pius VI. Catholic princes submitted to it on points of doctrine, and two or three of them in matters of discipline.

It is thought that henceforward there will be no more general councils than there will be states-general in France or Spain.*

In the Vatican there is a fine picture, containing a list of the general councils, in which are inscribed such only as are approved by the court of Rome.—Every one puts what he chuses in his own archives.

SECTION III.

Infallibility of Councils.

All councils are, doubtless, infallible, being composed of men.

It is not possible that the passions, that intrigues,

* The holding of the states-general in France, in 1789, somewhat weakens this comparison; and if the Holy Alliance fully succeed, councils may be once more in fashion.—T.

that the spirit of contention, that hatred or jealousy, that prejudice or ignorance, should ever influence these assemblies.

But why, it will be said, have so many councils been opposed to one another? To exercise our faith. They were all right, each in its time.

At this day, the Roman catholics believe in such councils only as are approved in the Vatican; the Greek catholics believe only in those approved at Constantinople; and the protestants make a jest of both the one and the other: so that every one ought to be content.

We shall here examine only the great councils: the lesser ones are not worth the trouble. The first was that of Nice, assembled in the year 325 of the modern era, after Constantine had written and sent by Osius his noble letter to the rather turbulent clergy of Alexandria. It was debated whether Jesus was created or uncreated. This in no way concerned morality, which is the only thing essential. Whether Jesus was in time or before time, it is not the less our duty to be honest. After much altercation, it was at last decided that the Son was as old as the Father, and *consubstantial* with the Father. This decision is not very easy of comprehension, which makes it but the more sublime. Seventeen bishops protested against the decree; and an old Alexandrian chronicle, preserved at Oxford, says that two thousand priests likewise protested. But prelates make not much account of mere priests, who are in general poor. However, there was nothing said of the Trinity in this first council. The formula runs thus: "We believe Jesus to be consubstantial with the Father, God of God, light of light, begotten, not made; we also believe in the Holy Ghost." It must be acknowledged that the Holy Ghost was treated very cavalierly.

We have already said, that in the supplement to the council of Nice it is related, that the fathers being much perplexed to find out which were the authentic and which the apocryphal books of the Old and the

New Testament, laid them all upon an altar, and the books which they were to reject fell to the ground. What a pity, that so fine an ordeal has been lost!

After the first council of Nice, composed of three hundred and seventeen infallible bishops, another council was held at Rimini; on which occasion the number of the infallible was four hundred, without reckoning a strong detachment, at Seleucia, of about two hundred. These six hundred bishops, after four months of contention, unanimously took from Jesus his *consubstantiality*. It has since been restored to him, except by the Socinians; so nothing is amiss.

One of the great councils was that of Ephesus, in 431. There, as already stated, Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, a great persecutor of heretics, was himself condemned as a heretic, for having maintained that, although Jesus was really God, yet his mother was not absolutely mother of God, but mother of Jesus. St. Cyril procured the condemnation of Nestorius; but the partisans of Nestorius also procured the deposition of St. Cyril, in the same council; which put the Holy Ghost in considerable perplexity.

Here, gentle reader, carefully observe, that the gospel says not one syllable of the consubstantiality of the Word, nor of Mary's having had the honour of being mother of God, no more than of the other disputed points which brought together so many infallible councils.

Eutyches was a monk, who had cried out sturdily against Nestorius, whose heresy was nothing less than the supposing two persons in Jesus; which is quite frightful. The monk, the better to contradict his adversary, affirmed that Jesus had but one nature. One Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, maintained against him, that there must absolutely be two natures in Jesus. Thereupon, a numerous council was held at Ephesus in 449, and the argument made use of was the cudgel, as in the lesser council of Cirtha, in 355, and in a certain conference held at Carthage. Flavian's nature was well thrashed, and two natures were

assigned to Jesus. At the council of Chalcedon, in 451, Jesus was again reduced to one nature.

I pass by councils held on less weighty questions, and come to the sixth general council of Constantinople, assembled to ascertain precisely whether Jesus, who, after having for a long period had but one nature, was then possessed of two, had also two wills. It is obvious how important this knowledge is to the doing the will of God.

This council was convoked by Constantine the bearded, as all the others had been by the preceding emperors. The legates from the bishop of Rome were on the left hand, and the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch on the right. The train-bearers at Rome may, for aught I know, assert that the left hand is the place of honour. However, the result was, that Jesus obtained two wills.

The Mosaic law forbade images. Painters and sculptors had never made their fortunes among the Jews. We do not find that Jesus ever had any pictures, excepting perhaps that of Mary, painted by Luke. It is however certain, that Jesus Christ nowhere recommends the worship of images. Nevertheless, the primitive christians began to worship them about the end of the fourth century, when they had become familiar with the fine arts. In the eighth century, this abuse had arrived at such a pitch, that Constantine Copronymus assembled, at Constantinople, a council of three hundred and twenty bishops, who anathematised image-worship, and declared it to be idolatry.

The empress Irene, the same who afterwards had her son's eyes torn out, convoked the second council of Nice in 787, when the adoration of images was re-established.

But in 794 Charlemagne had another council held at Frankfort, which declared the second of Nice idolatrous. Pope Adrian IV. sent two legates to it, but he did not convoke it.

The first great council convoked by a pope was the

first of Lateran, in 1139 : there were about a thousand bishops assembled ; but scarcely anything was done, except that all those were anathematised who said that the church was too rich.

In 1179, another great council of Lateran was held by Alexander III. in which the cardinals, for the first time, took precedence of the bishops. The discussions were confined to matters of discipline.

In another great council of Lateran, in 1215, pope Innocent III. stripped the count of Toulouse of all his possessions, by virtue of his excommunication. It was then that the first mention was made of *transubstantiation*.

In 1245 was held a general council at Lyons, then an imperial city, in which pope Innocent IV. excommunicated the emperor Frederic II. and consequently deposed him, and forbade him the use of fire and water. On this occasion a red hat was given to the cardinals, to remind them that they must embrue their hands in the blood of the emperor's partisans. This council was the cause of the destruction of the house of Swabia, and of thirty years of anarchy in Italy and Germany.

In a general council held at Vienne, in Dauphiny, in 1311, the order of the Templars was abolished ; its principal members having been condemned to the most horrible deaths, on charges most imperfectly established.

The great council of Constance, in 1414, contented itself with dismissing pope John XXIII. convicted of a thousand crimes, but had John Huss and Jerome of Prague burned for being obstinate ; obstinacy being a much more grievous crime than either murder, rape, simony, or sodomy.

In 1430 was held the great council of Basle, not recognised at Rome, because it deposed pope Eugenius IV. who would not be deposed.

The Romans reckon among the general councils the fifth council of Lateran, convoked against Louis XII. king of France, by pope Julius II. ; but that warlike pope dying, the council had no result.

Lastly, we have the great council of Trent, which is not received in France in matters of discipline; but its doctrine is indisputable, since, as Fra-Paolo Sarpi tells us, the Holy Ghost arrived at Trent from Rome every week in the courier's bag. But Fra-Paolo Sarpi was a little tainted with heresy.

COUNTRY.

ACCORDING to our custom, we confine ourselves on this subject to the statement of a few queries which we cannot resolve.

Has a Jew a country? If he is born at Coimbra, it is in the midst of a crowd of ignorant and absurd persons, who will dispute with him, and to whom he makes foolish answers, if he dare reply at all. He is surrounded by inquisitors, who would burn him if they knew that he declined to eat bacon, and all his wealth would belong to them. Is Coimbra *his* country? Can he exclaim, like the Horatii in Corneille—

Mourir pour la patrie est un si digne sort
Qu'on briguerait en foule, une si belle mort.

So high his meed who for his country dies,
Men should contend to gain the glorious prize.

He might as well exclaim, Fiddlestick!—Again: is Jerusalem his country? He has probably heard of his ancestors of old; that they had formerly inhabited a sterile and stony country, which is bordered by a horrible desert, of which little country the Turks are at present masters, but derive little or nothing from it. Jerusalem is, therefore, not his country. In short, he has no country: there is not a square foot of land on the globe which belongs to him.

The Guebre, more ancient, and a hundred times more respectable than the Jew, a slave of the Turks, the Persians, or the Great Mogul, can he regard as his country the fire-altars which he raises in secret among the mountains?

The Banian, the Armenian, who pass their lives in wandering through all the east, in the capacity of money-brokers, can they exclaim, "My dear country, my

dear country"—who have no other country than their purse and their account-books?

Among the nations of Europe, all those cut-throats who let out their services to hire, and sell their blood to the first king who will purchase it,—have they a country? Not so much so as a bird of prey, who returns every evening to the hollow of the rock where its mother built its nest!

The monks—will they venture to say that they have a country? It is in heaven, they say. All in good time; but in this world I know nothing about one.

This expression, "my country," how sounds it from the mouth of a Greek, who, altogether ignorant of the previous existence of a Miltiades, an Agesilaus, only knows that he is the slave of a janissary, who is the slave of an aga, who is the slave of a pacha, who is the slave of a vizier, who is the slave of an individual whom we call, in Paris, the grand Turk?

What then is country?—Is it not, probably, a good piece of ground, in the midst of which the owner, residing in a well-built and commodious house, may say, "This field which I cultivate, this house which I have built, is my own; I live under the protection of laws which no tyrant can infringe. When those who like me possess fields and houses assemble for their common interests, I have a voice in such assembly. I am a part of the whole, one of the community, a portion of the sovereignty: behold my country!" What cannot be included in this description too often amounts to little beyond studs of horses under the command of a groom, who employs the whip at his pleasure. People may have a country under a good king, but never under a bad one.

SECTION II.

A young pastry-cook who had been to college, and who had mustered some phrases from Cicero, gave himself airs one day about loving his country. What dost thou mean by country? said a neighbour to him. Is it thy oven? Is it the village where thou wert born, which thou hast never seen, and to which thou

wilt never return? Is it the street in which thy father and mother reside? Is it the town-hall, where thou wilt never become so much as a clerk to an alderman? Is it the church of Notre Dame, in which thou hast not been able to obtain a place among the boys of the choir; although a very silly person, who is archbishop and duke, obtains from it an annual income of twenty-four thousand louis d'or?*

The young pastry-cook knew not how to reply; and a person of reflection, who overheard the conversation, was led to infer that a country of a moderate extent may contain many millions of men who have no country at all.†

And thou, voluptuous Parisian, who hast never made a longer voyage than to Dieppe, to feed upon fresh sea-fish,—who art acquainted only with thy splendid town-house, thy pretty villa in the country, thy box at that opera which all the world makes it a point to feel tiresome but thyself;—who speakest thy own language agreeably enough, because thou art ignorant of every other; thou lovest all this, no doubt, as well as thy brilliant champagne from Rheims, and thy rents payable every six months; and loving these, thou dwellest upon thy love for thy country.

* This young pastry-cook doubtless personified some known individual whom Voltaire wished to satirise.

† This paradox may be solved as easily in England as in any nation in the world. What country has an English artisan, who, if he travel towards a sea-port, may be brought back handcuffed, and sentenced, if unable to find bail, to an indefinite imprisonment? It is evident that such a man for *country*, must read *prison*, even if he were not liable to further oppression by that opprobrium of a *soi-disant* free country, the combination code; a code which lays him prostrate at the feet of a more powerful combination, against which he must not combine. Happily, the flagrancy of this injustice, with the use made of it in Lancashire and Cheshire, has turned general attention to the subject, and is likely to remove it; until which consummation, it is again asserted that the English artisan, in the sense of Voltaire, is possessed of no country. Impressment and flogging, we trust, will meet the same fate; for as no class of men have more said to them about country than British soldiers and sailors, it is surely right that they also should have one.—T.

Speaking conscientiously, can a financier cordially love his country? *

Where was the country of the duke of Guise surnamed Balafre—at Nanci, at Paris, at Madrid, or at Rome?

What country had your cardinals Balue, Duprat, Lorraine, and Mazarine?

Where was the country of Attila situated, or that of a hundred other heroes of the same kind, who, although eternally travelling, make themselves always at home?

I should be much obliged to any one who would acquaint me with the country of Abraham.

The first who observed that every land is our country in which we do well, was, I believe, Euripides, in his Phaëton:—

Ὡς πανταχῶς γὰρ πατρίς βοσκούσα γῆν.

The first man, however, who left the place of his birth to seek a greater share of welfare in another, said it before him.

SECTION III.

A country is a composition of many families; and as a family is commonly supported on the principle of self-love, when by an opposing interest the same self-love extends to our town, our province, or our nation, it is called love of country.

The greater a country becomes, the less we love it; for love is weakened by diffusion. It is impossible to love a family so numerous that all the members can scarcely be known.

He who is burning with ambition to be edile, tri-

* By financier, under the old regime of France, was meant a farmer-general of the taxes. We have no such animals among us; but, during the last war, we had lives-and-fortune-men, contractors, loan-mongers, &c. whose claims to talk of country pretty much resembled those of the French farmers-general. Attached to it they all were, but something in the way that an epicure is attached to his turtle or his turbot. He loves and devours it, and loves it *because* he devours it.—T.

bune, prætor, consul, or dictator, exclaims that he loves his country, while he loves only himself. Every man wishes to possess the power of sleeping quietly at home, and of preventing any other man from possessing the power of sending him to sleep elsewhere.* Every one would be certain of his property and his life. Thus all forming the same wishes, the particular becomes the general interest. The welfare of the republic is spoken of, while all that is signified is love of self.

It is impossible that a state was ever formed on earth, which was not governed in the first instance as a republic: it is the natural march of human nature. On the discovery of America, all the people were found divided into republics; there were but two kingdoms in all that part of the world. Of a thousand nations, but two were found subjugated.

It was the same in the ancient world; all was republican in Europe, before the little kinglings of Etruria and of Rome. There are yet republics in Africa: the Hottentots, towards the south, still live as people are said to have lived in the first ages of the world,—free, equal, without masters, without subjects, without money, and almost without wants. The flesh of their sheep feeds them; they are clothed with their skins; huts of wood and clay form their habitations. They are the most dirty of all men, but they feel it not, but live and die more easily than we do. There remain eight republics in Europe, without monarchs,—Venice, Holland, Switzerland, Genoa, Lucca, Ragusa, Geneva, and St. Marino. Poland, Sweden, and England, may be regarded as republics under a King, but Poland is the only one of them which takes the name.†

* An allusion to the *lettre de cachet*, probably, by which Voltaire was sent to sleep *elsewhere* once, and threatened with the same favour frequently.

† This was written in 1764, since which there have been strange alterations; and the Holy Alliance, as far as it can reach, will leave nothing like a republic in Europe, until a reaction once more takes place. The only one which retains a nominal independence, Switzerland, is in fact virtually enslaved.—T.

But which of the two is to be preferred for a country;—a monarchy or a republic? This question has been agitated for four thousand years. Ask the rich, and they will tell you an aristocracy; ask the people, and they will reply a democracy; kings alone prefer royalty.* Why, then, is almost all the earth governed by monarchs? Put that question to the rats who proposed to hang a bell round the cat's neck. In truth, the genuine reason is, because men are rarely worthy of governing themselves.

It is lamentable, that to be a good patriot we must become the enemy of the rest of mankind. That good citizen the ancient Cato always gave it as his opinion, that Carthage must be destroyed: "Delenda est Carthago." To be a good patriot is to wish our own country enriched by commerce, and powerful by arms; but such

* No one but a slave can say that he prefers royalty to a well-constituted republic, where men are truly free, and where, enjoying under good laws all the rights they hold from nature, they will be clear of the danger of foreign oppression; but this republic exists not, and never has existed. There is no choice but between monarchy, aristocracy, and anarchy; and in this case a wise man will prefer monarchy; at all events, he will distrust the natural sentiment which may lead him to a preference of republicanism. It may not be because it renders all men free, but because he hopes to become one of their masters. It may be added, that the most important objects for mankind, as security, civil liberty, property, due division of taxation, liberty of commerce and of industry, ought to be the same in monarchies as in republics; as upon these points the interest of the monarch is the same as the general interest, or at least as much so as that of a legislative body.—*Note by Voltaire.*

It is useless for Voltaire to assert that the interest of the monarch is the same as the general interest, when monarchs can be so seldom brought to think so themselves. He confounds the interest of the monarchy with the interest of the monarch. For the maintenance and prosperity of a certain regimen, it ought to consult the general interest; but is it constructed to do so? It is the interest of Ferdinand of Spain to consult that of his people;—can he understand it? And in this respect at least nine out of ten kings are like him. The growth and prosperity of the United States of America have answered much of the above note of Voltaire, who appears to have but slightly studied the capability of the representative system, under a state of diffused information. He would not have written this note thirty years later.—T.

is the condition of mankind, that to wish the greatness of our own country is often to wish evil to our neighbours. He who could bring himself to wish that his country shall always remain as it is, would be a citizen of the universe.*

CRIMES OR OFFENCES.

Of Time and Place.

A ROMAN in Egypt very unfortunately killed a consecrated cat, and the infuriated people punished this sacrilege by tearing him to pieces. If this Roman had been carried before the tribunal, and the judges had possessed common sense, he would have been condemned to ask pardon of the Egyptians and the cats, and to pay a heavy fine either in money or mice. They would have told him that he ought to respect the follies of the people, since he was not strong enough to correct them.

The venerable chief justice should have spoken to him in this manner: "Every country has its legal impertinences, and its offences of time and place. If in your Rome, which has become the sovereign of Europe, Africa, and Asia Minor, you were to kill a sacred fowl, at the precise time that you give it grain in order to ascertain the just will of the gods, you would be severely punished. We believe that you have only killed our cat accidentally. The court admonishes you. Go in peace, and be more circumspect in future."

It seems a very indifferent thing to have a statue in

* A country may augment its real riches without diminishing, but even while increasing, that of its neighbours. It is the same as with the public good; the welfare of one nation is not to be obtained by sacrificing the prosperity of another. It is not thus with power; but no nation is called upon to augment its power beyond what is necessary to its security.—*Note in French Edition.*

The proposition in the first sentence of the foregoing note is becoming better understood every day. Cato was only a more respectable barbarian, although infinitely to be preferred to the cold-hearted oppressors, who would perpetuate an eternal helotism in Ireland and Italy, and prate all the while about paternity and christianity.—T.

our hall; but if, when Octavius surnamed Augustus was absolute master, a Roman had placed in his house the statue of Brutus, he would have been punished as seditious. If a citizen, under a reigning emperor, had the statue of the competitor to the empire, it is said that it was accounted a crime of high treason.

An Englishman, having nothing to do, went to Rome, where he met prince Charles Edward at the house of a cardinal. Pleased at the incident, on his return he drank in a tavern to the health of prince Charles Edward, and was immediately accused of high treason. But whom did he highly betray, in wishing the prince well? If he had conspired to place him on the throne, then he would have been guilty towards the nation; but I do not see that the most rigid justice of parliament could require more from him than to drink four cups to the health of the house of Hanover, supposing he had drank two to that of the house of Stuart.

Of Crimes of Time and Place, which ought to be concealed.

It is well known how much our Lady of Loretto ought to be respected in the March of Ancona. Three young people happened to be joking on the house of our Lady, which has travelled through the air to Dalmatia; which has two or three times changed its situation, and has only found itself comfortable at Loretto. Our three scatterbrains sang a song at supper, formerly made by a Huguenot, in ridicule of the translation of the *santa casa* of Jerusalem to the one end of the Adriatic Gulf. A fanatic having heard by chance what passed at their supper, made strict enquiries, sought witnesses, and engaged a magistrate to issue a summons. This proceeding alarmed all consciences. Every one trembled in speaking of it. Chambermaids, vergers, innkeepers, lacqueys, servants, all heard what was never said, and saw what was never done: there was an uproar, a horrible scandal throughout the whole March of Ancona. It was said half a league from Loretto, that these youths had killed our Lady; and a league farther, that they had thrown the

santa casa into the sea. In short, they were condemned. The sentence was, that their hands should be cut off, and their tongues be torn out; after which they were to be put to the torture, to learn (at least by signs) how many couplets there were in the song. Finally, they were to be burnt to death by a slow fire.

An advocate of Milan, who happened to be at Loretto at this time, asked the principal judge to what he would have condemned these boys, if they had violated their mother, and afterwards killed and eaten her? "Oh?" replied the judge, "there is a great deal of difference; to assassinate and devour their father and mother is only a crime against men." "Have you an express law," said the Milanese, "which obliges you to put young people scarcely out of their nurseries to such a horrible death, for having indiscreetly made game of the *santa casa*, which is contemptuously laughed at all over the world, except in the March of Ancona?" "No," said the judge, "the wisdom of our jurisprudence leaves all to our discretion." "Very well, you ought to have discretion enough to remember, that one of these children is the grandson to a general, who has shed his blood for his country, and the nephew of an amiable and respectable abbe; this youth and his companions are giddy boys, who deserve paternal correction. You tear citizens from the state, who might one day serve it; you imbrue yourself in innocent blood, and are more cruel than cannibals. You will render yourselves execrable to posterity. What motive has been powerful enough, thus to extinguish reason, justice, and humanity in your minds, and to change you into ferocious beasts?" The unhappy judge at last replied, "We have been quarrelling with the clergy of Ancona; they accuse us of being too zealous for the liberties of the Lombard church, and consequently of having no religion." "I understand then," said the Milanese, "that you have made yourselves assassins to appear Christians." At these words the judge fell to the ground, as if struck by a thunderbolt; and his brother judges having been since deprived of office, they cry out that injustice is done them. They forget what they have

done, and perceive not that the hand of God is upon them.*

For seven persons legally to amuse themselves by making an eighth perish on a public scaffold by blows from iron bars; take a secret and malignant pleasure in witnessing his torments; speak of it afterwards at table with their wives and neighbours; for the executioners to perform this office gaily, and joyously anticipate their reward; for the public to run to this spectacle as to a fair—all this requires that a crime merit this horrid punishment in the opinion of all well-governed nations, and, as we here treat of universal humanity, that it is necessary to the well-being of society. Above all, the actual perpetration should be demonstrated beyond contradiction.

If against an hundred thousand probabilities that the accused be guilty, there is a single one that he is innocent, that alone should balance all the rest.†

Query, if two Witnesses are enough to condemn a Man to be hanged?

It has been for a long time imagined, and the proverb assures us, that two witnesses are enough to hang a man, with a safe conscience. Another ambiguity! The world then is to be governed by equivokes. It is said in St. Matthew, that two or three witnesses will suffice to reconcile two divided friends; and after this text has criminal jurisprudence been regulated, so far as to decree that by divine law a citizen may be con-

* See the relation of the death of the Chevalier de la Barre, and the last chapter of the *Histoire du Parlement*.

† Every one is acquainted with Paley's sophistry on this subject,—that the death of an innocent under such circumstances is pardonable, and simply constitutes him a martyr for the good of his country. Voltaire argues, as he does elsewhere, against an implicit belief in evidence, because it is formally and legally offered, to the entire neglect of all general convictions of its error or falsehood. It was held by many in France, that on formal evidence the judge was obliged to convict; in Great Britain, the jury may discredit the witnesses for general or particular reasons, as they see or feel occasion; which does away with much of the difficulty, without admitting the extreme necessity of Voltaire.—T.

demned to die on the uniform deposition of two witnesses who may be villains. It has been already said, that a crowd of according witnesses cannot prove an improbable thing, when denied by the accused. What then must be done in such a case?—Put off the judgment for a hundred years, like the Athenians!

We shall here relate a striking example of what passed under our eyes at Lyons. A woman suddenly missed her daughter; she ran every where in search of her in vain, and at length suspected a neighbour of having secreted the girl, and of having caused her violation. Some weeks after some fishermen found a female drowned, and in a state of putrefaction, in the Rhone at Condmeux. The woman of whom we have spoken immediately believed that it was her daughter. She was persuaded by the enemies of her neighbour, that the latter had caused the deceased to be dishonoured, strangled, and thrown into the Rhone. She made this accusation publicly, and the populace repeated it; persons were found who knew the minutest circumstances of the crime. The rumour ran through all the town, and all mouths cried out for vengeance. There is nothing more common than this in a populace without judgment; but here follows the most prodigious part of the affair. This neighbour's own son, a child of five years and a half old, accused his mother of having caused the unhappy girl who was found in the Rhone to be violated before his eyes, and to be held by five men, while the sixth committed the crime. He had heard the words which pronounced her violated; he painted her attitudes; he saw his mother and these villains strangle this unfortunate girl after the consummation of the act. He also saw his mother and the assassins throw her into a well, draw her out of it, wrap her up in a cloth, carry her about in triumph, dance round the corpse, and at last throw it into the Rhone. The judges were obliged to put all the pretended accomplices deposed against in chains. The child is again heard, and still maintains, with the simplicity of his age, all that he had said of them and of his mother. How could it be imagined that this child had not spoken the pure

truth? The crime was not probable, but it was still less so, that a child of the age of five years and a half should thus calumniate his mother, and repeat with exactness all the circumstances of an abominable and unheard-of crime:—if he had not been the eye-witness of it, and been overcome with the force of the truth, such things would not have been wrung from him.

Every one expected to feast their eyes on the torments of the accused; but what was the end of this strange criminal process? There was not a word of truth in the accusation. There was no girl violated, no young men assembled at the house of the accused, no murder, not the least transaction of the sort or the least noise. The child had been suborned, and by whom?—strange, but true! by two other children, who were the sons of the accused. He had been on the point of burning his mother, to get some sweetmeats.

The heads of the accusation were clearly incompatible. The sage and enlightened court of judicature, after having yielded to the public fury so far as to seek every possible testimony for and against the accused, fully and unanimously acquitted them.

Formerly perhaps this innocent prisoner would have been broken on the wheel, or judicially burnt, for the pleasure of supplying an execution—the tragedy of the mob.

CRIMINAL.

Criminal Prosecution.

VERY innocent actions have been frequently punished with death. Thus in England, Richard III. and Edward IV. effected by the judges the condemnation of those whom they suspected of disaffection. Such are not criminal processes; they are assassinations committed by privileged murderers. It is the last degree of abuse to make the laws the instruments of injustice.

It is said that the Athenians punished with death every stranger who entered their areopagus or sovereign tribunal. But if this stranger was actuated by

mere curiosity, nothing was more cruel than to take away his life. It is observed in "The Spirit of Laws," that this vigour was exercised "because he usurped the rights of a citizen."

But a Frenchman in London who goes to the House of Commons to hear the debates, does not aspire to the rights of a citizen. He is received with politeness. If any splenetic member calls for the clearing of the house, the traveller clears it by withdrawing; he is not hanged. It is probable that, if the Athenians passed this temporary law, it was at a time when it was suspected that every stranger might be a spy, and not from the fear that he would arrogate to himself the rights of citizenship. Every Athenian voted in his tribe; all the individuals in the tribe knew each other: no stranger could have put in his bean.

We speak here only of real criminal prosecutions, and among the Romans every criminal prosecution was public. The citizen accused of the most enormous crimes had an advocate who pleaded in his presence; who even interrogated the adverse party; who investigated everything before his judges. All the witnesses, for and against, were produced in open court; nothing was secret. Cicero pleaded for Milo, who had assassinated Clodius, in public, in presence of a thousand citizens. The same Cicero undertook the defence of Roscius Amerinus, accused of parricide. A single judge did not in secret examine witnesses, generally consisting of the dregs of the people, who may be influenced at pleasure.

A Roman citizen was not put to the torture at the arbitrary order of another Roman citizen, invested with this cruel authority by purchase. That horrible outrage against humanity was not perpetrated on the persons of those who were regarded as the first of men; but only on those of their slaves, scarcely regarded as men. It would have been better not to have employed torture, even against slaves.*

The method of conducting a criminal prosecution at

* See TORTURE.

Rome accorded with the magnanimity and liberality of the nation.

It is nearly the same at London. The assistance of an advocate is never in any case refused. Every one is judged by his peers. Every citizen has the power, out of thirty-six jurymen sworn, to challenge twelve without reasons, twelve with reasons, and consequently, of choosing his judges in the remaining twelve. These judges cannot deviate from or go beyond the law. No punishment is arbitrary. No judgment can be executed before it has been reported to the king, who may and who ought to bestow pardon on those who are deserving of it, and to whom the law cannot extend it. This case frequently occurs. A man outrageously wronged kills the offender under the impulse of venial passion: he is condemned by the rigour of the law, and saved by that mercy which ought to be the prerogative of the sovereign.

It deserves particular remark that, in the same country, where the laws are as favourable to the accused as they are terrible for the guilty, not only is false imprisonment in ordinary cases punished by heavy damages and severe penalties, but if an illegal imprisonment has been ordered by a minister of state, under colour of royal authority, that minister may be condemned to pay damages correspondent to the imprisonment.

Proceedings in Criminal Cases among particular Nations.

There are countries in which criminal jurisprudence has been founded on the canon law, and even on the practice of the Inquisition, although that tribunal has long since been held in detestation there. The people in such countries still remain in a species of slavery. A citizen prosecuted by the king's officer is at once immured in a dungeon, which is in itself a real punishment of perhaps an innocent man.

A single judge, with his clerk, hears secretly, and in succession, every witness summoned.

Let us here merely compare, in a few points, the criminal procedure of the Romans with that of a coun-

try of the west, which was once a Roman province. Among the Romans, witnesses were heard publicly in presence of the accused, who might reply to them, and examine them himself, or through an advocate. This practice was noble and frank; it breathed of Roman magnanimity.

In France, in many parts of Germany, everything is done in secret. This practice, established under Francis I. was authorised by the commissioners who, in 1670, drew up the ordinance of Louis XIV. A mere mistake was the cause of it.

It was imagined on reading the code *De Testibus*, that the words, *Testes intrare judicii secretum*, signified that witnesses were examined in secret. But *secretum* here signifies the closet of the judge. *Intrare secretum*, to express speaking in secret, would not be Latin. This part of our jurisprudence was occasioned by a solecism. Witnesses were usually persons of the lowest class, and whom the judge, when closeted with them, might induce to say whatever he wished. These witnesses are examined a second time, always in secret, which is called re-examination; and if, after re-examination, they retract their depositions, or vary them in essential circumstances, they are punished as false witnesses. Thus, when an upright man of weak understanding, and unused to express his ideas, is conscious that he has stated either too much or too little,—that he has misunderstood the judge, or that the judge has misunderstood him,—and revokes, in the spirit of justice, what he had advanced through incaution, he is punished as a felon. He is in this manner often compelled to persevere in false testimony, from the actual dread of being treated as a false witness.

The person accused exposes himself by flight to condemnation, whether the crime has been proved or not. Some juriconsults, indeed, have wisely held, that the contumacious person ought not to be condemned, unless the crime were clearly established; but other lawyers have been of a contrary opinion: they have boldly affirmed that the flight of the accused was a proof of the crime; that the contempt which he shewed for jus-

tice, by refusing to appear, merited the same chastisement as would have followed his conviction. Thus, according to the sect of lawyers which the judge may have embraced, an innocent man will be acquitted or condemned.

It is a great abuse in jurisprudence, that people often assume as law the reveries and errors, sometimes cruel ones, of men destitute of all authority, who have laid down their own opinions as laws.

In the reign of Louis XIV. two edicts were published in France, which apply equally to the whole kingdom. In the first, which refers to civil causes, the judges are forbidden to condemn in any suit, on default, when the demand is not proved; but in the second, which regulates criminal proceedings, it is not laid down that, in the absence of proof, the accused shall be acquitted. Singular circumstance! The law pronounces, that a man proceeded against for a sum of money shall not be condemned, on default, unless the debt be proved; but, in cases affecting life, the profession are divided with respect to condemning a person for contumacy when the crime is not proved; and the law does not solve the difficulty.

Example taken from the Condemnation of a whole Family.

The following is an account of what happened to this unfortunate family, at the time when the mad fraternities of pretended penitents, in white robes and masks, had erected, in one of the principal churches of Toulouse, a superb monument to a young protestant, who had destroyed himself, but who they pretended had been murdered by his father and mother, for having abjured the reformed religion; at the time, when the whole family of this protestant, then revered as a martyr, were in irons, and a whole population, intoxicated by a superstition equally senseless and cruel, awaited, with devout impatience, the delight of seeing five or six persons of unblemished integrity expire on the rack or at the stake. At this dreadful period there resided near Castres a respectable man, also of the protestant religion, of the name of Sirven,

who exercised in that province the profession of a feudist. This man had three daughters. A woman who superintended the household of the bishop of Castres, proposed to bring to him Sirven's second daughter, called Elizabeth, in order to make her a catholic, apostolical and Roman. She is in fact brought. She is by him secluded with the female jesuits, denominated the "lady teachers," or the "black ladies." They instruct her in what they know; they find her capacity weak, and impose upon her penances in order to inculcate doctrines which, with gentleness, she might have been taught. She becomes imbecile; the black ladies expel her; she returns to her parents; her mother, on making her change her linen, perceives that her person is covered with contusions; her imbecility increases; she becomes melancholy mad; she escapes one day from the house, while her father is some miles distant, publicly occupied in his business, at the seat of a neighbouring nobleman. In short, twenty days after the flight of Elizabeth, some children find her drowned in a well, on the fourth of January, 1761.

This was precisely the time when they were preparing to break Calas on the wheel at Toulouse. The word "parricide," and what is worse, "huguenot," flies from mouth to mouth throughout the province. It was not doubted that Sirven, his wife, and his two daughters, had drowned the third, on a principle of religion.

It was the universal opinion, that the protestant religion positively required fathers and mothers to destroy such of their children as might wish to become catholics. This opinion had taken such deep root in the minds even of magistrates themselves, hurried on unfortunately by the public clamour, that the council and church of Geneva were obliged to contradict the fatal error, and to send to the parliament of Toulouse an attestation upon oath, that not only did protestants not destroy their children, but that they were left masters of their whole property when they quitted their sect for another. It is known that, notwithstanding this attestation, Calas was broken on the wheel.

A country magistrate of the name of Londe, assisted by graduates as sagacious as himself, became eager to make every preparation for following up the example which had been furnished at Toulouse. A village doctor, equally enlightened with the magistrate, boldly affirmed, on inspecting the body after the expiration of eighteen days, that the young woman had been strangled, and afterwards thrown into the well. On this deposition, the magistrate issued a warrant to apprehend the father, mother, and the two daughters. The family, justly terrified at the catastrophe of Calas, and agreeably to the advice of their friends, betook themselves instantly to flight; they travelled amidst snow during a rigorous winter, and, toiling over mountain after mountain, at length arrived at those of Switzerland. The daughter, who was married and pregnant, was prematurely delivered amidst surrounding ice.

The first intelligence this family received, after reaching a place of safety, was, that the father and mother were condemned to be hanged; the two daughters to remain under the gallows during the execution of their mother, and to be reconducted by the executioner out of the territory, under pain of being hanged if they returned. Such is the lesson given to contumacy!

This judgment was equally absurd and abominable. If the father, in concert with his wife, had strangled his daughter, he ought to have been broken on the wheel, like Calas, and the mother to have been burnt (at least after having been strangled), because the practice of breaking women on the wheel is not yet the custom in the country of this judge. To limit the punishment to hanging in such a case, was an acknowledgment that the crime was not proved, and that in the doubt the halter was adopted to compromise, for want of evidence. This sentence was equally repugnant to law and reason. The mother died of a broken heart, and the whole family, their property having been confiscated, would have perished through want, unless they had met with assistance.

We stop here, to enquire whether there be any law

and any reason that can justify such a sentence? We ask the judge, "What madness has urged you to condemn a father and a mother?" "It was because they fled," he replies. "Miserable wretch! would you have had them remain to glut your insensate fury? Of what consequence could it be, whether they appeared in chains to plead before you, or whether in a distant land they lifted up their hands in appeal to heaven against you? Could you not see the truth, which ought to have struck you, as well during their absence? Could you not see, that the father was a league distant from his daughter, in the midst of twenty persons, when the unfortunate young woman withdrew from her mother's protection? Could you be ignorant, that the whole family were in search of her for twenty days and nights?" To this you answer by the words, Contumacy, contumacy. What! because a man is absent therefore must he be condemned to be hanged, though his innocence be manifest? It is the jurisprudence of a fool and a monster. And the life, the property, and the honour of citizens are to depend upon this code of Iroquois!

The Sirven family for more than eight years dragged on their misfortunes, far from their native country. At length, the sanguinary superstition which disgraced Languedoc having been somewhat mitigated, and men's minds becoming more enlightened, those who had befriended the Sirvens during their exile, advised them to return and demand justice from the parliament of Toulouse itself, now that the blood of Calas no longer smoked, and many repented of having ever shed it. The Sirvens were justified.

Erudimini, qui judicatis terram.

Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.

CROMWELL.

SECTION I.

CROMWELL is described as a man who was an impostor all his life. I can scarcely believe it. I conceive, that he was first an enthusiast, and that he after-

wards made his fanaticism instrumental to his greatness. An ardent novice at twenty often becomes an accomplished rogue at forty. In the great game of human life, men begin with being dupes, and end in becoming knaves. A statesman engages as his almoner a monk, entirely made up of the details of his convent—devout, credulous, awkward, perfectly new to the world: he acquires information, polish, finesse, and supplants his master.

Cromwell knew not, at first, whether he should become a churchman or a soldier. He partly became both. In 1622 he made a campaign in the army of the prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, a great man and the brother of two great men; and, on his return to England, engaged in the service of bishop Williams, and was the chaplain of his lordship, while the bishop passed for his wife's gallant. His principles were puritanical, which led him cordially to hate a bishop, and not to be partial to kingship. He was dismissed from the family of bishop Williams, because he was a puritan; and thence the origin of his fortune. The English parliament declared against monarchy and against episcopacy: some friends whom he had in that parliament procured him a country living. He might be said only now to have commenced his existence; he was more than forty before he acquired any distinction. He was master of the sacred scriptures, disputed on the authority of priests and deacons, wrote some bad sermons and some lampoons; but he was unknown. I have seen one of his sermons, which is insipid enough, and pretty much resembles the holdings forth of the quakers; it is impossible to discover in it any trace of that power by which he afterwards swayed parliaments. The truth is, he was better fitted for the state than for the church. It was principally in his tone and in his air that his eloquence consisted. An inclination of that hand which had gained so many battles, and killed so many royalists, was more persuasive than the periods of Cicero. It must be acknowledged, that it was his incomparable valour which brought him into notice,

and which conducted him gradually to the summit of greatness.

He commenced by throwing himself, as a volunteer and a soldier of fortune, into the town of Hull, besieged by the king. He there performed some brilliant and valuable services, for which he received a gratuity of about six thousand franks from the parliament. This present, bestowed by parliament upon an adventurer, made it clear that the rebel party must prevail. The king could not give to his general officers what the parliament gave to volunteers. With money and fanaticism, everything must in the end be mastered. Cromwell was made colonel. His great talents for war became then so conspicuous, that, when the parliament created the earl of Manchester general of its forces, Cromwell was appointed lieutenant-general, without his having passed through the intervening ranks. Never did any man appear more worthy of command. Never were seen more activity and skill, more daring and more resources, than in Cromwell. He is wounded at the battle of York; and, while undergoing the first dressing, is informed that his commander, the earl of Manchester, is retreating, and the battle lost. He hastens to find the earl; discovers him flying, with some officers; arrests him by the arm, and, in a firm and dignified tone, he exclaims, "My lord, you mistake; the enemy have not taken that road." He re-conducts him to the field of battle; rallies, during the night, more than twelve thousand men; harangues them in the name of God; cites Moses, Gideon, and Joshua; renews the battle, at day-break, against the victorious royalist army, and completely defeats it. Such a man must either perish or obtain the mastery. Almost all the officers of his army were enthusiasts, who carried the New Testament on their saddle bows. In the army, as in the parliament, nothing was spoken of but Babylon destroyed, building up the worship of Jerusalem, and breaking the image. Cromwell, among so many madmen, was no longer one himself, and thought it better to govern

than to be governed by them. The habit of preaching, as by inspiration, remained with him. Figure to yourself a fakir, who, after putting an iron girdle round his loins in penance, takes it off to drub the ears of other fakirs. Such was Cromwell. He becomes as intriguing as he was intrepid. He associates with all the colonels of the army, and thus forms among the troops a republic which forces the commander to resign. Another commander is appointed, and him he disgusts. He governs the army, and through it he governs the parliament; which he at last compels to make him commander. All this is much; but the essential point is, that he wins all the battles he fights in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and wins them, not consulting his own security while the fight rages, but always charging the enemy, rallying his troops, presenting himself everywhere, frequently wounded, killing with his own hand many royalist officers, like the fiercest soldier in the ranks.

In the midst of this dreadful war, Cromwell made love: he went, with the bible under his arm, to an assignation with the wife of his major-general, Lambert. She loved the earl of Holland, who served in the king's army. Cromwell took him prisoner in battle, and had the pleasure of bringing his rival to the block. It was his maxim to shed the blood of every important enemy, in the field or by the hand of the executioner. He always increased his power by always daring to abuse it; the profoundness of his plans never lessened his ferocious impetuosity. He went to the House of Commons, and drove all the members out, one after another, making them defile before him. As they passed, each was obliged to make a profound reverence: one of them was passing on with his head covered; Cromwell seized his hat and threw it down: "Learn," said he, "to respect me." *

When he had outraged all kings by beheading his own legitimate king, and he began himself to reign, he

* Voltaire has been deceived, in relation to several of the facts alluded to in this paragraph, by no mean portion of Jacobite exaggeration.—T.

sent his portrait to one crowned head, Christina, queen of Sweden. Marvel, a celebrated English poet, who wrote excellent Latin verses, accompanied this portrait with six lines, in which he introduces Cromwell himself speaking; Cromwell corrected these two last verses :

At tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra,
Non sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.

The spirit of the whole six verses may be given thus :

Les armes à la main j'ai defendu les lois ;
D'un peuple audacieux j'ai vengé la querelle.
Regardez sans frémir cette image fidelle :
Mon front n'est pas toujours l'épouvante des rois.

— 'Twas mine by arms t'uphold my country's laws ;
My sword maintain'd a lofty people's cause ;
With less of fear these faithful outlines trace,
Menace of kings not always clouds my face.

This queen was the first to acknowledge him, after he became protector of the three kingdoms. Almost all the sovereigns of Europe sent ambassadors to *their brother Cromwell*, to that domestic of a bishop, who had just brought to the scaffold a sovereign related to them. They emulously courted his alliance. Cardinal Mazarine, in order to please him, banished from France the two sons of Charles I. the two grandsons of Henry IV. and the two cousins German of Louis XIV. France conquered Dunkirk for him, and the keys of it were delivered into his possession. After his death, Louis XIV. and his whole court went into mourning, except mademoiselle, who dared to appear in the circle in colours, and alone to maintain the honour of her race.

No king was ever more absolute than Cromwell. He would observe, " that he had preferred governing under the name of protector rather than under that of king, because the English were aware of the limits of the prerogative of a king of England, but knew not the extent of that of a protector." This was knowing mankind, who are governed by opinion, and whose opinion depends upon a name. He had conceived a profound contempt for the religion to which he owed his success.

An anecdote preserved in the St. John family, sufficiently proves the slight regard he attached to that instrument which had produced such mighty effects in his hands. He was drinking once in company with Ireton, Fleetwood, and St. John, great grandfather of the celebrated lord Bolingbroke; a bottle of wine was to be uncorked, and the corkscrew fell under the table; they all looked for it, and were unable to find it. In the mean time a deputation from the presbyterian churches waited in the anti-chamber, and an usher announced them. "Tell them," said Cromwell, "that I have retired, and *that I am seeking the Lord.*" This was the expression employed by the fanatics for going to prayers. Having dismissed the troop of divines, he thus addressed his companions: "Those fellows think we are seeking the Lord, while we are only seeking a corkscrew."

There is scarcely any example in Europe of a man who, from so low a beginning, raised himself to such eminence.* But, with all his great talents, what did he consider absolutely essential to his happiness?—Power he obtained; but was he happy? He had lived in poverty and disquiet till the age of forty-three: he afterwards plunged into blood, passed his life in trouble, and died prematurely, at the age of fifty-seven. With this life let any one compare that of a Newton, who lived fourscore years, always tranquil, always honoured, always the light of all thinking beings; beholding every day an accession to his fame, his character, his fortune; completely free both from care and remorse; and let him decide whose was the happier lot.

O curas hominum! ô quantum est in rebus inanè!

O human cares! O mortal toil how vain!

SECTION II.

Oliver Cromwell was regarded with admiration by the puritans and independents of England: he is still

* Napoleon Bonaparte has since become a still more striking example of similar exaltation.—T.

their hero. But Richard Cromwell, his son, is the man for me.

The first was a fanatic, who in the present day would be hissed down in the house of commons on uttering any one of the unintelligible absurdities which he delivered with such confidence before other fanatics, who listened to him with open mouth and staring eyes, in the name of the Lord. If he were to say that they must seek the Lord, and fight the battles of the Lord—if he were to introduce the Jewish jargon into the parliament of England, to the eternal disgrace of the human understanding, he would be much more likely to be conducted to Bedlam than to be appointed the commander of armies.

Brave he unquestionably was, and so are wolves: there are even some monkeys as fierce as tigers. From a fanatic he became an able politician; in other words, from a wolf he became a fox, and the knave, craftily mounting from the first steps where the mad enthusiasms of the times had placed him, to the summit of greatness, walked over the heads of the prostrated fanatics. He reigned, but he lived in the horrors of alarm, and had neither cheerful days nor tranquil nights. The consolations of friendship and society never approached him. He died prematurely; more deserving, beyond a doubt, of public execution than the monarch whom, from a window of his own palace, he caused to be led out to the scaffold.*

Richard Cromwell, on the contrary, was gentle and prudent, and refused to keep his father's power at the expense of the lives of three or four factious persons, whom he might have sacrificed to his ambition. He preferred becoming a private individual to being an assassin with supreme power. He relinquished the protectorship without regret, to live as a subject, and in the tranquillity of a country life, he enjoyed health and possessed his soul in peace for ninety years,

* Few Englishmen, who, after all, are the best judges of the errors and vices of Cromwell, would now pass so severe a sentence.—T.

beloved by his neighbours, to whom he was a peace-maker and a father.

Say, reader, had you to chuse between the destiny of the father and that of the son, which would you prefer?

CUISSAGE.

DION CASSIUS, that flatterer of Augustus and detractor from Cicero, because Cicero was the friend of liberty—that dry and diffuse writer, and gazetteer of popular rumours, Dion Cassius, reports that certain senators were of opinion that, in order to recompense Cæsar for all the evil which he had brought upon the commonwealth, it would be right, at the age of fifty-seven, to allow him to honour with his favours all the ladies who took his fancy. Men are still found who credit this absurdity. Even the author of the “Spirit of Laws” takes it for a truth, and speaks of it as of a decree which would have passed the Roman senate but for the modesty of the dictator, who suspected that he was not altogether prepared for the accession of so much good fortune. But if the Roman emperors attained not this right by a *senatus-consultum*, duly founded upon a *plebiscitum*, it is very likely that they fully enjoyed it by the courtesy of the ladies. The Marcus Aureliuses and the Julians, to be sure, exercised not this right, but all the rest extended it as widely as they were able.

It is astonishing, that in Christian Europe a kind of feudal law for a long time existed, or at least it was deemed a customary usage, to regard the virginity of a female vassal as the property of the lord. The first night of the nuptials of the daughter of his *vilain* belonged to him without dispute.

This right was established in the same manner as that of walking with a falcon on the fist, and of being saluted with incense at mass. The lords, indeed, did not enact that the *wives* of their *vilains* belonged to them; they confined themselves to the daughters; the reason of which is obvious. Girls are bashful, and

sometimes might exhibit reluctance. This however yielded at once to the majesty of the laws, when the condescending baron deemed them worthy the honour of personally enforcing their practice.

It is asserted that this curious jurisprudence commenced in Scotland; and I willingly believe that the Scotch lords had a still more absolute power over their clans than even the German and French barons over their vassals.

It is undoubted that some abbots and bishops enjoyed this privilege in their quality of temporal lords; and it is not very long since that these prelates compounded their prerogative for acknowledgments in money, to which they have just as much right as to the virginity of the girls.

But let it be well remarked, that this excess of tyranny was never sanctioned by any public law. If a lord or a prelate had cited before a regular tribunal a girl affianced to one of his vassals, in claim of her quit-rent, he would doubtless have lost his cause with costs.

Let us seize this occasion to rest assured, that no partially-civilised people ever established formal laws against morals; I do not believe that a single instance of it can be furnished. Abuses creep in and are borne: they pass as customs, and travellers mistake them for fundamental laws. It is said that in Asia greasy Mahometan saints march in procession entirely naked, and that devout females crowd round them to kiss what is not worthy to be named; but I defy any one to discover a passage in the Koran which justifies this brutality.

The phallum, which the Egyptians carry in procession, may be quoted, in order to confound me, as well as the idol Jaggernaut, of the Indians. I reply, that these ceremonies war no more against morals than circumcision at the age of eight days. In some of our towns the holy foreskin has been borne in procession; and it is preserved yet in certain sacristies, without this piece of drollery causing the least disturbance in families. Still, I am convinced that no

council or act of parliament ever ordained this homage to the holy foreskin.

I call a public law which deprives me of my property, which takes away my wife and gives her to another, a law against morals; and I am certain that such a law is impossible.

Some travellers maintain that in Lapland husbands, out of politeness, make an offer of their wives. Out of still greater politeness, I believe them; but I nevertheless assert, that they never found this rule of good manners in the legal code of Lapland, any more than in the constitutions of Germany, in the ordinances of the kings of France, or in the "Statutes at Large" of England, any positive law adjudging the right of *cuisage* to the barons.

Absurd and barbarous laws may be found every where; formal laws against morals nowhere.

CURATE (OF THE COUNTRY.)*

A CURATE—but why do I say a curate?—even an iman, a talapoin, or bramin, ought to have the means of living decently. The priest, in every country, ought to be supported by the altar, since he serves the public. Some fanatic rogue may assert, that I place the curate and the bramin on the same level, and associate truth with imposture; but I compare only the services rendered to society, the labour and the recompense.

I maintain, that whoever exercises a laborious function ought to be well paid by his fellow citizens. I do not assert that he ought to amass riches, sup with Lucullus, or be as insolent as Clodius. I pity the case of a country curate, who is obliged to dispute a sheaf of corn with his parishioner; to plead against him; to exact from him the tenth of his peas and beans; to be hated and to hate; and to consume his

* Anglicè, country rector. The original term is preserved in the original alphabetical order, because the illustration is chiefly French.

miserable life in continual quarrels, which engross the mind as much as they embitter it.

I still more pity the inconsistent lot of a curate, to whom monks, claiming the great tithes, audaciously reward with a salary of forty ducats per annum, for undertaking, throughout the year, the labour of visiting for three miles round his abode, by day and by night, in hail, rain, or snow, the most disagreeable and often the most useless functions, while the abbot or great tithe-holder drinks his rich wine of Volney, Baune, or Chambertin; eats his partridges and pheasants; sleeps upon his down bed with a fair neighbour, and builds a palace. The disproportion is too great.

It has been taken for granted, since the days of Charlemagne, that the clergy, besides their own lands, ought to possess a tenth of the lands of other people; which tenth is at least a quarter, computing the expense of culture. To establish this payment, it is claimed on a principle of divine right. Did God descend on earth to give a quarter of his property to the abbey of Mount Cassin, to the abbey of St. Denis, to the abbey of Fulda? Not that I know: but it has been discovered that, formerly, in the desert of Ethan, Horeb, and Kadesh Barnea, the Levites were favoured with forty-eight cities, and a tenth of all which the earth produced besides.

Very well, great tithe-holders, go to Kadesh Barnea, and inhabit the forty-eight cities in that uninhabitable desert. Take the tenth of the flints which the land produces there, and great good may they do you.

But Abraham having combatted for Sodom, gave a tenth of the spoil to Melchisedec, priest and king of Salem. Very good; combat you also for Sodom; but, like Melchisedec, take not from me the produce of the corn which I have sowed.

In a Christian country, containing twelve hundred thousand square leagues, throughout the whole of the north, in part of Germany, in Holland, and in Switzerland, the clergy are paid with money from the public treasury. The tribunals resound not there with law-

suits between landlords and priests, between the great and the little tithe-holders, between the pastor plaintiff and the flock defendants, in consequence of the third council of the Lateran, of which the said flocks defendant have never heard a syllable.

The king of Naples, this year (1772), has just abolished tithes in one of his provinces: the clergy are better paid, and the province blesses him.

The Egyptian priests, it is said, claimed not this tenth, but then it is observed that they possessed a third part of the land of Egypt as their own. Oh stupendous miracle! Oh thing most difficult to be conceived, that, possessing one third of the country, they did not quickly acquire the other two!

Believe not, dear reader, that the Jews, who were a stiff-necked people, never complained of the extortion of the tenths, or tithe.

Give yourself the trouble to consult the Talmud of Babylon; and if you understand not the Chaldean, read the translation, with notes of Gilbert Gaumin, the whole of which was printed by the care of Fabricius. You will there peruse the adventure of a poor widow with the high priest Aaron, and learn how the quarrel of this widow became the cause of the quarrel of Koran, Dathan, and Abiram, on the one side, and Aaron on the other.

“A widow possessed only a single sheep, which she wished to shear. Aaron came and took the wool for himself: ‘It belongs to me,’ said he, ‘according to the law, Thou shalt give the first of the wool to God.’ The widow, in tears, implored the protection of Koran. Koran applied to Aaron, but his intreaties were fruitless. Aaron replies, ‘that the wool belongs to him.’ Koran gives some money to the widow, and retires filled with indignation.

“Some time after the sheep produces a lamb; Aaron returns, and carries away the lamb. The widow runs weeping again to Koran, who in vain implores Aaron. The high priest answers: ‘It is written in the law, Every first-born male in thy flock belongs to

God. He eats the lamb, and Koran again retires in a rage.

"The widow, in despair, kills her sheep; Aaron returns once more, and takes away the shoulder and the breast. Koran again complains. Aaron replies: 'It is written, Thou shalt give unto the priests the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw.'"

"The widow could no longer contain her affliction, and said, 'Anathema,' to the sheep: upon which Aaron observed, 'It is written, All that is anathema (cursed) in Israel, belongs to thee;' and took away the sheep altogether."

What is not so pleasant, yet very remarkable, is, that in a suit between the clergy of Rheims and the citizens, this instance from the Talmud was cited by the advocate of the citizens. Gaumin asserts, that he witnessed it. In the mean time, it may be answered, that the titheholders do not take *all* from the people: the tax-gatherers will not suffer it. To every one his share is just.

CURIOSITY.

SUAVE, mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectore laborem;
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est.
Suave etiam belli certamine magna tueri
Per campos instructa tuâ sine parte pericli:
Sed nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
Edita doctrinâ sapientûm templa serenâ
Despicere undè queas alios, passimque videre
Errare, atque viam palantes quærere vitæ,
Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
Noctes atque dies niti præstante labore
Ad summas emergere opas, rerumque potiri.
O miseras hominum mentes! ô pectora cæca!

'Tis pleasant, when the seas are rough, to stand
And view another's danger, safe at land:
Not 'cause he's troubled, but 'tis sweet to see
Those cares and fears, from which ourselves are free:
'Tis also pleasant to behold from far
How troops engage, secure ourselves from war.

* Deuteronomy, c. 18, v. 3, 4.

But above all 'tis pleasantest to get
 The top of high philosophy, and set
 On the calm peaceful flourishing head of it ;
 Whence we may view, deep, wond'rous deep below,
 How poor mistaken mortals wand'ring go,
 Seeking the path to happiness: some aim
 At learning, not nobility, or fame ;
 Others with cares and dangers vie each hour
 To reach the top of wealth and sovereign power.
 Blind, wretched man, in what dark paths of strife
 We walk this little journey of our life !—CREECH.

I ask your pardon, Lucretius ! I suspect that you are here as mistaken in morals, as you are always mistaken in physics. In my opinion it is curiosity alone that induces people to hasten to the shore to see a vessel in danger of being overwhelmed in a tempest. The case has happened to myself ; and I solemnly assure you, that my pleasure, mingled as it was with uneasiness and distress, did not at all arise from reflection nor originate in any secret comparison between my own security and the danger of the unfortunate crew. I was moved by curiosity and pity.

At the battle of Fontenoy, little boys and girls climbed up the surrounding trees, to have a view of the slaughter. Ladies ordered seats to be placed for them on a bastion of the city of Liege, that they might enjoy the spectacle at the battle of Rocoux.

When I said,* “ Happy they who view in peace the gathering storm,” the happiness I had in view consists in tranquillity and the search of truth, and not in seeing the sufferings of thinking beings, oppressed by fanatics or hypocrites, under persecution for having sought it.

Could we suppose an angel flying on six beautiful wings from the height of the Empyreum, setting out to take a view, through some loophole of hell, of the torments and contortions of the damned, and congratulating himself on feeling nothing of their inconceivable agonies, such an angel would much resemble the character of Belzebub.

I know nothing of the nature of angels, because I am only a man ; divines alone are acquainted with

* In his translation of the above passage of Lucretius.—T.

them: but, as a man, I think, from my own experience and from that of all my brother drivellers, that people do not flock to any spectacle, of whatever kind, but from pure curiosity.

This seems to me so true, that if the exhibition be ever so admirable, men at last become tired of it. The Parisian public scarcely go any longer to see *Tartuffe*, the most masterly of *Moliere's* master-pieces. Why is it? Because they have gone often; because they have it by heart. It is the same with *Andromache*.

Perrin Dandin is very unfortunately right when he proposes to the young *Isabella* to take her to see the method of "putting to the torture;" it serves, he says, to pass away an hour or two. If this anticipation of the execution, frequently more cruel than the execution itself, were a public spectacle, the whole city of *Toulouse* would have rushed in crowds to behold the venerable *Calas* twice suffering those execrable torments, at the instance of the attorney-general. Penitents, black, white, and grey; married women, girls, stewards of the floral games, students, lacqueys, female servants, girls of the town, doctors of the canon law, would have been all squeezed together. At *Paris*, we must have been almost suffocated, in order to see the unfortunate general *Lally* pass along in a dung cart, with a six-inch gag in his mouth.

But if these tragedies of cannibals, which are sometimes performed before the most frivolous of nations, and the one most ignorant in general of the principles of jurisprudence and equity;—if the spectacles, like those of *St. Bartholomew*, exhibited by tigers to monkeys, and the copies of it on a smaller scale, were renewed every day, men would soon desert such a country; they would fly from it with horror; they would abandon for ever the infernal land where such barbarities were common.

When little boys and girls pluck the feathers from their sparrows, it is merely from the impulse of curiosity, as when they dissect the dress of their dolls. It is this passion alone which produces the immense at-

tendance at public executions. "Strange eagerness," as some tragic author remarks, "to behold the wretched!"

I remember being at Paris when Damiens suffered a death the most elaborate and frightful that can be conceived. All the windows in the city which bore upon the spot were engaged at a high price by ladies; not one of whom, assuredly, made the consoling reflection, that her own breasts were not torn by pincers; that melted lead and boiling pitch were not poured upon wounds of her own; and that her own limbs, dislocated and bleeding, were not drawn asunder by four horses. One of the executioners judged more correctly than Lucretius; for, when one of the academicians of Paris tried to get within the enclosure to examine what was passing more closely, and was forced back by one of the guards; "Let the gentleman go in," said he, "he is an amateur." That is to say, he is inquisitive; it is not through malice that he comes here; it is not from any reflex consideration of self, to revel in the pleasure of not being himself quartered; it is only from curiosity, as men go to see experiments in natural philosophy.

Curiosity is natural to man, to monkeys, and to little dogs. Take a little dog with you in your carriage, he will continually be putting up his paws against the door to see what is passing. A monkey searches everywhere, and has the air of examining everything. As to men, you know how they are constituted; Rome, London, Paris, all pass their time in inquiring what's the news?

CUSTOMS—USAGES.

THERE are, it is said, one hundred and forty-four customs in France, which possess the force of law. These laws are almost all different, in different places. A man who travels in this country changes his law almost as often as he changes his horses. The majority of these customs were not reduced to writing until the time of Charles VII. the reason of which probably was, that few people knew how to write. They then

copied a part of the customs of a part of Ponthieu ; but this great work was not aided by the Picards, until Charles VIII. There were but sixteen digests in the time of Louis XII. but our jurisprudence is so improved, there are now but few customs which have not a variety of commentators, all of whom are of a different opinion. There are already twenty-six upon the customs of Paris. The judges know not which to prefer ; but, to put them at their ease, the custom of Paris has been just turned into verse. It was in this manner that the Delphian Pythoness of old declared her oracles.

Weights and measures differ as much as customs ; so that which is correct in the fauxbourg of Montmatre, is otherwise in the abbey of St. Denis. The Lord pity us !*

CYRUS.

MANY learned men, and Rollin among the number, in an age in which reason is cultivated, have assured us, that Javan, who is supposed to be the father of the Greeks, was the grandson of Noah. I believe it precisely as I believe that Persius was the founder of the kingdom of Persia, and Niger of Nigritia. The only thing which grieves me is, that the Greeks have never known anything of Noah, the venerable author of their race. I have elsewhere noted my astonishment and chagrin, that our father Adam should be absolutely unknown to everybody from Japan to the Straits of Le Maire, except to a small people to whom he was known too late. The science of genealogy is doubtless in the highest degree certain, but exceedingly difficult.

It is neither upon Javan, upon Noah, or upon Adam, that my doubts fall at present ; it is upon Cyrus, and I seek not which of the fables in regard to him is preferable, that of Herodotus, of Ctesias, of Xenophon, of

* We have given this lively representation to show what the old state of France was ; and how difficult it would have been for anything less than a revolution to sweep away so much intricate and interested absurdity.—T.

Diodorus, or of Justin, all of which contradict one another. Neither do I ask why it is obstinately determined to give the name of Cyrus to a barbarian called Khosrou; and those of Cyropolis and Persepolis, to cities which never bore them.

I drop all which has been said of the Grand Cyrus, including the romance of that name, and the travels which the Scottish Ramsay made him undertake; and simply inquire into some instructions of his to the Jews, of which that people make mention.

I remark, in the first place, that no author has said a word of the Jews in the history of Cyrus; and that the Jews alone venture to notice themselves, in speaking of this prince.

They resemble, in some degree, certain people, who, alluding to individuals of a rank superior to their own, say, we know the gentlemen, but the gentlemen know not us. It is the same with Alexander, in the narratives of the Jews. No historian of Alexander has mixed up his name with that of the Jews; but Josephus fails not to assert, that Alexander came to pay his respects at Jerusalem; that he worshipped, I know not what Jewish pontiff, called Jaddus, who had formerly predicted to him the conquest of Persia in a dream. Petty people are often visionary in this way: the great dream less of their greatness.

When Tarik conquered Spain, the vanquished said they had foretold it. They would have said the same thing to Gengis, to Tamerlane, and to Mahomet II.

God forbid that I should compare the Jewish prophets to the predictors of good fortune, who pay their court to conquerors by foretelling them that which has come to pass. I merely observe, that the Jews produce some testimony from their nation, in respect to the actions of Cyrus, about one hundred and sixty years before he was born.

It is said, in the forty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed (his Christ)—Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him; and I will loosen the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall

not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord, who call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel," &c.

Some learned men have scarcely been able to digest the fact of the Lord honouring with the name of his Christ an idolater of the religion of Zoroaster. They even dare to say, that the Jews, in the manner of all the weak who flatter the powerful, invented predictions in favour of Cyrus.

These learned persons respect Daniel no more than Isaiah, but treat all the prophecies attributed to the latter with similar contempt to that manifested by St. Jerome for the adventures of Susannah, of Bell and the Dragon, and of the three children in the fiery furnace.

The sages in question seem not to be penetrated with sufficient esteem for the prophets. Many of them even pretend, that to clearly see the future is metaphysically impossible. To see that which is not, say they, is a contradiction in terms; and as the future exists not, it consequently cannot be seen. They add, that frauds of this nature abound in all nations; and, finally, that everything is to be doubted which is recorded in ancient history.

They observe, that if there was ever a formal prophecy, it is that of the discovery of America in the tragedy of Seneca:—

Venient annis.
Secula seris quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Patent Tellus, &c.

A time may arrive when ocean will loosen the chains of nature, and lay open a vast world.—The four stars of the southern pole are advanced still more clearly in Dante, yet no one takes either Seneca or Dante for diviners.

As to Cyrus, it is difficult to know whether he died

nobly or had his head cut off by Tomyris; but I am anxious, I confess, that the learned men who have cut off the head of Cyrus may be right. It is not amiss, that these illustrious robbers on the highway of nations, who pillage and deluge the earth with blood, should be occasionally chastised.

Cyrus has always been the subject of remark. Xenophon began and Ramsay unfortunately ended. Lastly, to show the sad fate which sometimes attends heroes, Danchet has made him the subject of a tragedy.

This tragedy is entirely unknown: the *Cyropedia* of Xenophon is more popular, because it is in Greek. The *Travels of Cyrus* are less so, although printed in French and English, and wonderfully erudite.

The pleasantry of the romance, entitled "*The Travels of Cyrus*," consists in its discovery of a Messiah everywhere—at Memphis, at Babylon, at Ecbatana, and at Tyre, as at Jerusalem; and as much in Plato as in the gospel. The author having been a quaker, an anabaptist, an anglican, and a presbyterian, had finally become a *Fenelonist* at Cambray, under the illustrious author of *Telemachus*. Having since been made preceptor to the child of a great nobleman, he thought himself born to instruct and govern the universe; and, in consequence, gives lessons to Cyrus, in order to render him at once the best king and the most orthodox theologian in existence.

These two rare qualities appear to lack the grace of congruity.

Ramsay leads his pupil to the school of Zoroaster, and then to that of the young Jew Daniel, the greatest philosopher that ever existed. He not only explained dreams, which is the acme of human science, but discovered and interpreted even such as had been forgotten, which none but him could ever accomplish. It might be expected that Daniel would present the beautiful Susannah to the prince, it being in the natural manner of romance; but he did nothing of the kind.

Cyrus, in return, has some very long conversation with Nebuchadnezzar, during the time that he was an

ox ; during which transformation, Ramsay makes Nebuchadnezzar ruminate like a profound theologian.

How astonishing that the prince,* for whom this work was composed, preferred the chase and the opera to perusing it!

DANTE.

You wish to become acquainted with Dante. The Italians call him divine, but it is a mysterious divinity; few men understand his oracles; and although there are commentators, that may be an additional reason why he is little comprehended. His reputation will last, because he is little read. Twenty pointed things in him are known by rote, which spare people the trouble of being acquainted with the remainder.

The divine Dante was an unfortunate person. Imagine not that he was divine in his own day: no one is a prophet at home. It is true he was a prior, but not a prior of monks, but a prior of Florence; that is to say, one of its senators.

He was born in 1260, when the arts began to flourish in his native land. Florence, like Athens, abounded in greatness, wit, levity, inconstancy, and faction. The white faction was in great credit; it was called after a Signora Bianca. The opposing party was called the blacks, in contradistinction. These two parties sufficed not for the Florentines; they had also Guelphs and Ghibelines. The greater part of the whites were Ghibelines, attached to the party of the emperors; the blacks, on the other hand, sided with the Guelphs, the partisans of the popes.

All these factions loved liberty, but did all they could to destroy it. Pope Boniface VIII. wished to profit by these divisions, in order to annihilate the power of the emperors in Italy. He declared Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the fair, king of France, his vicar in Italy. The vicar came well armed, and chased away the whites and the Ghibelines, and made himself detested by blacks and by Guelphs. Dante was

* The prince of Turenne.

a white and a Ghibeline; he was driven away among the first, and his house rased to the ground. We may judge if he could be, for the remainder of his life, favourable towards the French interest and to the popes. It is said, however, that he took a journey to Paris, and, to relieve his chagrin, turned theologian, and disputed vigorously in the schools. It is added, that the emperor Henry VIII. did nothing for him, Ghibeline as he was; and that he repaired to Frederick of Arragon, king of Sicily, and returned as poor as he went. He subsequently died in poverty at Ravenna, at the age of fifty-six. It was during these various peregrinations that he composed his divine comedy of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise.

[Voltaire here enters into a description of the Inferno, which it is unnecessary to insert, after the various translations into English. The conclusion, however, exhibiting our author's usual vivacity, is retained.]

Is all this in the comic style? No. In the heroic manner? No. What then is the taste of this poem? An exceeding wild one; but it contains verses so happy and piquant, that it has not laid dormant for four centuries, and never will be laid aside. A poem, moreover, which puts popes into hell excites attention; and the sagacity of commentators is exhausted in correctly ascertaining who it is that Dante has damned; it being, of course, of the first consequence not to be deceived in a matter so important.

A chair and a lecture have been founded with a view to the exposition of this classic author. You ask me why the Inquisition acquiesces. I reply, that in Italy the Inquisition understand raillery, and know that raillery in verse never does any harm.*

* Which is being infinitely more sensible and liberal than the Conspiracy intitled the Constitutional Society of London, who would doubtless have prosecuted the Inferno; while the Italian Inquisition, "understanding raillery," would have passed over Byron, and trounced Southey.—T.

DAVID.

WE are called upon to reverence David as a prophet, as a king, as the ancestor of the holy spouse of Mary, as a man who merited the mercy of God from his penitence.

I will boldly assert that the article DAVID, which raised up so many enemies to Bayle, the first author of a dictionary of facts and of reasonings, deserves not the strange noise which was made about it. It was not David that people were anxious to defend, but Bayle whom they were solicitous to destroy. Certain preachers of Holland, his mortal enemies, were so far blinded by their enmity, as to blame him for having praised popes whom he thought meritorious, and for having refuted the unjust calumny with which they had been assailed.

This absurd and shameful piece of injustice was signed by a dozen theologians, on the 20th December, 1698, in the same consistory in which they pretended to take up the defence of king David. A great proof that the condemnation of Bayle arose from personal feelings, is supplied by the fact of that which happened in 1761, to Mr. Peter Anet, in London. The doctors Chandler and Palmer having delivered funeral sermons on the death of King George II. in which they compared him to king David, Mr. Anet, who regarded not this comparison as honourable to the deceased monarch, published his famous dissertation, entitled "The History of the Man after God's own Heart." In that work, he makes it clear that George II. a king much more powerful than David, did not fall into the errors of the Jewish sovereign, and consequently could not display the penitence which was the origin of the comparison.

He follows, step by step, the books of Kings, examines the conduct of David with more severity than Bayle, and on it founds an opinion, that the Holy Spirit praises not actions of the nature of those attributed to David. The English author, in fact, judges the

king of Judah upon the notions of justice and injustice which prevail at the present time.

He cannot approve of the assembly of a band of robbers by David, to the amount of four hundred; of his being armed with the sword of Goliath, by the high priest Abimelech, from whom he received hallowed bread.*

He could not think well of the expedition of David against the farmer Nabal, in order to destroy his abode with fire and sword, because Nabal refused contributions to his troop of robbers; or of the death of Nabal a few days afterwards, the widow of whom David immediately espoused.†

He condemned his conduct to king Achish, the possessor of a few villages in the district of Gath. David, at the head of five or six hundred banditti, made inroads upon the allies of his benefactor Achish. He pillaged the whole of them, massacred all the inhabitants, men, women, and children at the breast.—And why the children at the breast? For fear, says the text, these children should carry the news to king Achish, who was deceived into a belief that these expeditions were undertaken against the Israelites, by an absolute lie on the part of David.‡

Again: Saul loses a battle, and wishes his armour-bearer to slay him, who refuses; he wounds himself, but not effectually, and at his own desire a young man dispatches him, who, carrying the news to David, is massacred for his pains.§

Ishbosheth succeeds his father Saul, and David makes war upon him. Finally, Ishbosheth is assassinated.

David, now possessed of the sole dominion, surprised the little town or village of Rabbah, and puts all the inhabitants to death by the most extraordinary devices,—sawing them asunder, destroying them with harrows and axes of iron, and burning them in brick-kilns.¶

After these expeditions, there was a famine in the

* 1 Sam. ch. 21, 22,

† Ibid. ch. 25.

‡ Ibid. ch. 27.

§ 2 Sam. ch. 1.

¶ Ibid. ch. 12.

country for three years. In fact, from this mode of making war, countries must necessarily be badly cultivated. The Lord was consulted as to the causes of the famine. The answer was easy: in a country which produces corn with difficulty, when labourers are baked in brick-kilns and sawed into pieces, few people remain to cultivate the earth. The Lord, however, replied, that it was because Saul had formerly slain some Gibeonites.

What is David's speedy remedy? He assembles the Gibeonites, informs them that Saul had committed a great sin in making war upon them, and that Saul not being like him, a man after God's own heart, it would be proper to punish him in his posterity. He therefore makes them a present of seven grandsons of Saul to be hanged, who were accordingly hanged, because there had been a famine.*

Mr. Anet is so just as not to insist upon the adultery with Bathsheba, and the murder of her husband, as these crimes were pardoned in consequence of the repentance of David. They were horrible and abominable, but being remitted by the Lord, the English author absolves them also.

No one complained in England of the author, and the parliament took little interest in the history of a kingling of a petty district in Syria.†

Let justice be done to father Calmet; he has kept within bounds in his dictionary of the Bible, in the article DAVID. "We pretend not," said he, "to approve of the conduct of David; but it is to be believed that this excess of cruelty was committed before his repentance on the score of Bathsheba." Possibly he repented of all his crimes at the same time, which were sufficiently numerous.

Let us here ask, what appears to us to be an important question. May we not exhibit a portion of contempt in the article DAVID, and treat of his person and glory

* 2 Sam. ch. 21.

† Voltaire is here mistaken; we believe that this work was finally prosecuted. That of which parliaments may be careless, fanatics are careful.—T.

with the respect due to the sacred books? It is the interest of mankind that crime should in no case be sanctified. What signifies what *he* is called, who massacres the wives and children of his allies; who hangs the grandchildren of his king; who saws his unhappy captives in two; tears them to pieces with arrows, or burns them in brick-kilns? These actions we judge, and not the letters which compose the name of the criminal. His name neither augments nor diminishes the criminality.

The more David is revered after his reconciliation with God, the more are his previous cruelties condemnable.

If a young peasant, in searching after she asses, finds a kingdom, it is no common affair. If another peasant cures his king of insanity by a tune on the harp, that is still more extraordinary. But when this petty player on the harp becomes king, because he meets a village priest in secret, who pours a bottle of olive oil on his head, the affair is more marvellous still.

I know nothing either of the writers of these marvels, or of the time in which they were written; but I am certain that it was neither Polybius nor Tacitus.

I shall not speak here of the murder of Uriah, and the adultery with Bathsheba; these facts being sufficiently well known. The ways of God are not the ways of man, since he permitted the descent of Jesus Christ from this very Bathsheba, everything being rendered pure by so holy a mystery.

I ask not now how Jurieu had the audacity to persecute the wise Bayle for not approving all the actions of the good king David. I only inquire, why a man like Jurieu is suffered to molest a man like Bayle.

DECRETALS,

LETTERS of the popes, which regulate points of doctrine and discipline, and which have the force of law in the Latin church.

Besides the genuine ones collected by Denis le Petit,

there is a collection of false ones, the author of which, as well as the date, is unknown. It was an archbishop of Mayence, called Riculphus, who circulated it in France, about the end of the eighth century; he had also brought to Worms an epistle of pope Gregory, which had never before been heard of; but no vestige of the latter is at present remaining, while the false decretals, as we shall see, have met with the greatest success for eight centuries.

This collection bears the name of Isidore Mercator, and comprehends an infinite number of decrees falsely ascribed to the popes, from Clement I. down to Siricus. The false donation of Constantine; the council of Rome under Sylvester; the letter of Athanasius to Mark; that of Anastasius to the bishops of Germany and Burgundy; that of Sixtus III. to the Orientals; that of Leo I. relating to the privileges of the rural bishops; that of John I. to the archbishop Zachariah; one of Boniface II. to Eulalia of Alexandria; one of John III. to the bishops of France and Burgundy; one of Gregory, containing a privilege of the monastery of St. Medard; one from the same to Felix, bishop of Messina; and many others.

The object of the author was to extend the authority of the pope and the bishops. With this view he lays it down as a principle, that they can be definitely judged only by the pope; and he often repeats this maxim, that not only every bishop, but every priest, and, generally, every oppressed individual may, in any stage of a cause, appeal directly to the pope. He likewise considers it as an incontestible principle, that no council, not even a provincial one, may be held without the permission of the pope.

These decretals, favouring the impunity of bishops, and still more the ambitious pretensions of the popes, were eagerly adopted by them both. In 861, Rotade, bishop of Soissons, being deprived of episcopal communion in a provincial council, on account of disobedience, appeals to the pope. Hincmar of Rheims, his metropolitan, notwithstanding this appeal, deposes him

in another council, under the pretext that he had afterwards renounced it, and submitted himself to the judgment of the bishops.

Pope Nicholas I. being informed of this affair, wrote to Hincmar, and blamed his proceedings. "You ought," says he, "to honour the memory of St. Peter, and await our judgment, even although Rotade had not appealed. And in another letter on the same matter, he threatens Hincmar with excommunication, if he does not restore Rotade. That pope did more. Rotade having arrived at Rome, he declared him acquitted in a council held on Christmas eve, 864; and dismissed him to his see with letters. That which he addressed to all the bishops is worthy of notice, and is as follows:—

"What you say is absurd, that Rotade, after having appealed to the holy see, changed his language and submitted himself anew to your judgment. Even although he had done so, it would have been your duty to set him right, and teach him that an appeal never lies from a superior judge to an inferior one. But even although he had not appealed to the holy see, you ought by no means to depose a bishop without our participation, in prejudice of so many decretals of our predecessors; for, if it be by their judgment, that the writings of other doctors are approved or rejected, how much more should that be respected which they have themselves written, to decide on points of doctrine and discipline? Some tell you that these decretals are not in the book of canons; yet those same persons, when they find them favourable to their designs, use both without distinction, and reject them only to lessen the power of the holy see. If the decretals of the ancient popes are to be rejected because they are not contained in the book of canons, the writings of St. Gregory, and the rest of the fathers, must, on the same principle, be rejected also, and even the holy scriptures themselves.

"You say," the pope continues, "that judgments upon bishops are not among the higher causes; we

maintain that they are high in proportion as bishops hold a high rank in the church. Will you assert that it is only metropolitan affairs which constitute the higher causes? But metropolitans are not of a different order from bishops, and we do not demand different witnesses or judges in the one case, from what are usual in the other; we therefore require, that causes which involve either should be reserved for us. And, finally, can any one be found so utterly unreasonable as to say that all other churches ought to preserve their privileges, and that the Roman church alone should lose her's?" He concludes with ordering them to receive and replace Rotade.

Pope Adrian, the successor of Nicholas I. seems to have been no less zealous in a similar case relating to Hincmar of Laon. That prelate had rendered himself hateful both to the clergy and people of his diocese, by various acts of injustice and violence. Having been accused before the council of Verberie, at which Hincmar of Rheims, his uncle and metropolitan, presided, he appealed to the pope, and demanded permission to go to Rome. This was refused him. The process against him was merely suspended, and the affair went no farther. But upon new matters of complaint brought against him by Charles the bald and Hincmar of Rheims, he was cited at first before the council of Attigni, where he appeared, and soon afterwards fled; and then before the council of Douzi, where he renewed his appeal, and was deposed. The council wrote to the pope a synodal letter, on the sixth of September, 871, to request of him a confirmation of the acts which they sent him; but Adrian, far from acquiescing in the judgment of the council, expressed in the strongest terms his disapprobation of the condemnation of Hincmar; maintaining that, since Hincmar declared before the council that he appealed to the holy see, they ought not to have pronounced any sentence of condemnation upon him. Such were the terms used by that pope, in his letter to the bishops of the council, as also in that which he wrote to the king.

The following is the vigorous answer sent by Charles to Adrian: "Your letters say—

"We will and ordain, by apostolical authority, that Hincmar of Laon shall come to Rome and present himself before us, resting upon your supremacy.

"We wonder where the writer of this letter discovered that a king, whose duty it is to chastise the guilty and be the avenger of crimes, ought to send to Rome a criminal convicted according to legal forms, and more especially one who, before his deposition, was found guilty, in three councils, of enterprises against the public peace; and who, after his deposition, persisted in his disobedience.

"We are compelled further to tell you, that we, kings of France, born of a royal race, have never yet passed for the deputies of bishops, but for sovereigns of the earth. And, as St. Leon and the Roman council have said, kings and emperors, whom God has appointed to govern the world, have permitted bishops to regulate their affairs according to their ordinances, but they have never been the stewards of bishops; and if you search the records of your predecessors, you will not find that they have ever written to persons in our exalted situation as you have done in the present instance."

He then adduces two letters of St. Gregory, to show with what modesty he wrote, not only to the kings of France, but to the Exarchs of Italy. "Finally," he concludes, "I beg that you will never more send to me, or to the bishops of my kingdom, similar letters, if you wish that we should give to what you write that honour and respect which we would willingly grant it." The bishops of the council of Douzi answered the pope nearly in the same strain; and, although we have not the entire letter, it appears that their object in it was to prove that Hincmar's appeal ought not to be decided at Rome, but in France, by judges delegated conformably to the canons of the council of Sardis.

These examples are sufficient to show how the popes extended their jurisdiction by the instrumentality of these false decretals; and although Hincmar of Rheims objected to Adrian, that, not being included in the book

of canons, they could not subvert the discipline established by the canons,—which occasioned his being accused, before pope John VIII. of not admitting the decretals of the popes,—he constantly cited these decretals as authorities, in his letters and other writings, and his example was followed by many bishops. At first those only were admitted which were not contrary to the more recent canons, and afterwards there was less and less scruple.

The councils themselves made use of them. Thus, in that of Rheims, held in 992, the bishops availed themselves of the decretals of Anacletus, of Julius, of Damasus, and other popes, in the cause of Arnoul. Succeeding councils imitated that of Rheims. The popes Gregory VII. Urban II. Pascal II. Urban III. and Alexander III. supported the maxims they found in them, persuaded that they constituted the discipline of the flourishing age of the church. Finally, the compilers of the canons, Bouchard of Worms, Yves of Chartres, and Gratian, introduced them into their collection. After they became publicly taught in the schools, and commented upon, all the polemical and scholastic divines, and all the expositors of the canon law, eagerly laid hold of these false decretals to confirm the catholic dogmas, or to establish points of discipline, and scattered them profusely through their works.

It was not till the sixteenth century, that the first suspicions of their authenticity were excited. Erasmus, and many others with him, called them in question upon the following grounds:—

1st, The decretals contained in the collection of Isidore are not in that of Denis le Petit, who cited none of the decretals of the popes before the time of Siricus. Yet he informs us, that he took extreme care in collecting them. They could not, therefore, have escaped him if they had existed in the archives of the see of Rome, where he resided. If they were unknown to the holy see, to which they were favourable, they were so to the whole church. The fathers and councils of the eight first centuries have made no mention of

them. But how can this universal silence be reconciled with their authenticity?

2d, These decretals do not all correspond with the state of things existing at the time in which they are supposed to have been written. Not a word is said of the heresies of the three first centuries, nor of other ecclesiastical affairs with which the genuine works of the same period are filled. This proves that they were fabricated afterwards.

3d, Their dates are almost always false. Their author generally follows the chronology of the pontifical book, which, by Baronius's own confession, is very incorrect. This is a presumptive evidence that the collection was not composed till after the pontifical book.

4th, These decretals, in all the citations of scripture passages which they contain, use the version known by the name of "Vulgate," made, or at least revised, by St. Jerome. They are therefore of later date than St. Jerome.

Finally, they are all written in the same style, which is very barbarous; and, in that respect, corresponding to the ignorance of the eighth century: but it is not by any means probable that all the different popes, whose names they bear, affected that uniformity of style. It may be concluded with confidence, that all the decretals are from the same hand.

Besides these general reasons, each of the documents which form Isidore's collection carries with it marks of forgery peculiar to itself, and none of which have escaped the keen criticism of David Blondel, to whom we are principally indebted for the light thrown at the present day on this compilation, now no longer known but as "The False Decretals;" but the usages introduced in consequence of it subsist not the less through a considerable portion of Europe.

DELUGE (UNIVERSAL.)

We begin with observing that we are believers in the universal deluge, because it is recorded in the holy Hebrew scriptures transmitted to Christians.

We consider it as a miracle: first, because all the facts by which God condescends to interfere in the sacred books are so many miracles.

Secondly, because the sea could not rise fifteen cubits, or one and twenty standard feet and a half, above the highest mountains, without leaving its bed dry, and at the same time violating all the laws of gravity and the equilibrium of fluids, which would evidently require a miracle.

Thirdly, because, even although it might rise to the height mentioned, the ark could not have contained, according to known physical laws, all the living things of the earth, together with their food, for so long a time; considering that lions, tigers, panthers, leopards, ounces, rhinoceroses, bears, wolves, hyenas, eagles, hawks, kites, vultures, falcons, and all carnivorous animals, which feed on flesh alone, would have died of hunger, even after having devoured all the other species.

There was printed some time ago, in an appendix to Pascal's *Thoughts*, a dissertation of a merchant of Rouen, called Le Pelletier, in which he proposes a plan for building a vessel in which all kinds of animals might be included and maintained for the space of a year. It is clear that this merchant never superintended even a poultry-yard. We cannot but look upon M. Le Pelletier, the architect of the ark, as a visionary, who knew nothing about menageries; and upon the deluge as an adorable miracle, fearful, and incomprehensible to the feeble reason of M. Le Pelletier, as well as to our own.

Fourthly, because the physical impossibility of a universal deluge, by natural means, can be strictly demonstrated. The demonstration is as follows:—

All the seas cover half the globe. A common measure of their depth near the shores, and in the open ocean, is assumed to be five hundred feet.

In order to their covering both hemispheres to the depth of five hundred feet, not only would an ocean of that depth be necessary over all the land, but a new sea would, in addition, be required to envelope the

ocean at present existing, without which the laws of hydrostatics would occasion the dispersion of that other new mass of water five hundred feet-deep, which should remain covering the land.

Thus, then, two new oceans are requisite to cover the terraqueous globe merely to the depth of five hundred feet.

Supposing the mountains to be only twenty thousand feet high, forty oceans, each five hundred feet in height, would be required to accumulate on each other, merely in order to equal the height of the mountains. Every successive ocean would contain all the others, and the last of them all would have a circumference containing forty times that of the first.

In order to form this mass of water, it would be necessary to create it out of nothing. In order to withdraw it, it would be necessary to annihilate it.

The event of the deluge, then, is a double miracle, and the greatest that has ever manifested the power of the eternal Sovereign of all worlds.

We are exceedingly surprised that some learned men have attributed to this deluge some small shells found in many parts of our continent.*

We are still more surprised at what we find under the article DELUGE in the grand Encyclopedia. An author is quoted in it, who says things so very profound that they may be considered as chimerical. This is the first characteristic of Pluche. He proves the possibility of the deluge by the history of the giants who made war against the gods!

Briaréus, according to him, is clearly the deluge, for it signifies *the loss of serenity*; and in what language does it signify this loss?—In Hebrew. But Briaréus is a Greek word, which means *robust*; it is not a Hebrew word. Even if, by chance, it had been so, we ought to beware of imitating Bochart, who derives so many Greek, Latin, and even French

* Possibly not to this deluge in particular, but to watery convulsions generally.—T.

words, from the Hebrew idiom. The Greeks certainly knew no more of the Jewish idiom than of the language of the Chinese.

The giant Othus is also in Hebrew, according to Pluche, "the derangement of the seasons." But it is also a Greek word, which does not signify any thing, at least that I know; and even if it did, what, let me ask, could it have to do with the Hebrew?

Porphyrion is a *shaking of the earth*, in Hebrew; but in Greek, it is porphyry. This has nothing to do with the deluge.

Mimas is a *great rain*; for once, he does mention a name which may bear upon the deluge. But in Greek *mimas* means mimic, comedian. There are no means of tracing the deluge to such an origin.

Enceladus, another proof of the deluge in Hebrew; for, according to Pluche, it is the fountain of time; but, unluckily, in Greek it is *noise*.

Ephialtes, another demonstration of the deluge in Hebrew; for *ephialtes*, which signifies *leaper, oppressor, incubus*, in Greek, is, according to Pluche, a vast accumulation of clouds.

But the Greeks having taken every thing from the Hebrews, with whom they were unacquainted, clearly gave to their giants all those names which Pluche extracts from the Hebrew as well as he can, and all as a memorial of the deluge.

Such is the reasoning of Pluche. It is he who cites the author of the article DELUGE without refuting him. Does he speak seriously, or does he jest? I do not know. All I know is, that there is scarcely a single system to be found at which one can forbear jesting.

I have some apprehension that the article in the grand Encyclopedia, attributed to M. Boulanger, is not serious. In that case, we ask whether it is philosophical. Philosophy is so often deceived, that we shall not venture to decide against M. Boulanger.

Still less shall we venture to ask what was that abyss which was broken up, or what were the cataracts of

heaven which were opened. Isaac Vossius denies the universality of the deluge: "*Hoc est piè nugari.*"* Calmet maintains it; informing us, that bodies have no weight in air, but in consequence of their being compressed by air. Calmet was not much of a natural philosopher, and the weight of the air has nothing to do with the deluge. Let us content ourselves with reading and respecting every thing in the bible, without comprehending a single word of it.

I do not comprehend how God created a race of men in order to drown them, and then substitute in their room a race still viler than the first.

How seven pairs of all kinds of clean animals should come from the four quarters of the globe, together with two pairs of unclean ones, without the wolves devouring the sheep on the way, or the kites the pigeons, &c &c.

How eight persons could keep in order, feed, and water, such an immense number of inmates, shut up in an ark for nearly two years; for, after the cessation of the deluge, it would be necessary to have food for all these passengers for another year, in consequence of the herbage being so scanty.

I am not like M. Pelletier. I admire every thing, and explain nothing.

DEMOCRACY.

Le pire des états, c'est l'état populaire.

That sway is worst, in which the people rule.

Such is the opinion which Cinna gave Augustus.† But on the other hand Maximus maintains, that

Le pire des états, c'est l'état monarchique.

That sway is worst, in which a monarch rules.

Bayle, in his Philosophical Dictionary, after having repeatedly advocated both sides of the question, gives,

* Commentary on Genesis, p. 197, &c.

† Corn. Cinna, act ii. scene 1.

under the article Pericles, a most disgusting picture of democracy, and more particularly that of Athens.

A republican, who is a staunch partisan of democracy, and one of our "proposers of questions," sends us his refutation of Bayle and his apology for Athens. We will adduce his reasons. It is the privilege of every writer to judge the living and the dead; he who thus sits in judgment will be himself judged by others, who in their turn will be judged also; and thus from age to age all sentences are, according to circumstances, reversed or reformed.

Bayle, then, after some common-place observations, uses these words: "A man would look in vain into the history of Macedon for as much tyranny as he finds in the history of Athens."

Perhaps Bayle was discontented with Holland when he thus wrote; and probably my republican friend, who refutes him, is contented with his little democratic city "for the present."

It is difficult to weigh, in an exquisitely nice balance, the iniquities of the republic of Athens and of the court of Macedon. We still upbraid the Athenians with the banishment of Cymon, Aristides, Themistocles, and Alcibiades, and the sentences of death upon Phocion and Socrates; sentences similar in absurdity and cruelty to those of some of our own tribunals.

In short, what we can never pardon in the Athenians is the execution of their six victorious generals, condemned because they had not time to bury their dead after the victory, and because they were prevented from doing so by a tempest. This sentence is at once so ridiculous and barbarous, it bears such a stamp of superstition and ingratitude, that those of the inquisition, those delivered against Urbain Grandier, against the wife of marshal D'Ancre, against Montrín, and against innumerable sorcerers and witches, &c. are not, in fact, fooleries more atrocious.

It is in vain to say, in excuse of the Athenians, that they believed, like Homer before them, that the souls

of the dead were always wandering, unless they had received the honours of sepulture or burning. A folly is no excuse for a barbarity.

A dreadful evil, indeed, for the souls of a few Greeks to ramble for a week or two on the shores of the ocean! The evil is in consigning over living men to the executioner; living men who have won a battle for you; living men, to whom you ought to be devoutly grateful.

Thus, then, are the Athenians convicted of having been at once the most silly and the most barbarous judges in the world.

But we must now place in the balance the crimes of the court of Macedon; we shall see that that court far exceeds Athens in point of tyranny and atrocity.

There is ordinarily no comparison to be made between the crimes of the great, who are always ambitious, and those of the people, who never desire, and who never can desire, any thing but liberty and equality. These two sentiments, "liberty and equality," do not *necessarily* lead to calumny, rapine, assassination, poisoning, and devastation of the lands of neighbours; but the towering ambition and thirst for power of the great, precipitate them headlong into every species of crime in all periods and in all places.

In this same Macedon, the virtue of which Bayle opposes to that of Athens, we see nothing but a tissue of tremendous crimes for a series of two hundred years.

It is Ptolemy, the uncle of Alexander the Great, who assassinates his brother Alexander to usurp the kingdom.

It is Philip, his brother, who spends his life in guilt and perjury, and ends it by a stab from Pausanias.

Olympias orders queen Cleopatra and her son to be thrown into a furnace of molten brass. She assassinates Arideus.

Antigonus assassinates Eumenes.

Antigonus Gonathas, his son, poisons the governor of the citadel of Corinth, marries his widow, expels her, and takes possession of the citadel.

Philip, his grandson, poisons Demetrius, and defiles the whole of Macedon with murders.

Perseus kills his wife with his own hand, and poisons his brother.

These perfidies and cruelties are authenticated in history.

Thus, then, for two centuries, the madness of despotism converts Macedon into a theatre for every crime; and in the same space of time you see the popular government of Athens stained only by five or six acts of judicial iniquity, five or six certainly atrocious judgments, of which the people in every instance repented, and for which they made, as far as they could, honourable expiation (*amende honorable*). They asked pardon of Socrates after his death, and erected to his memory the small temple called *Socrateion*. They asked pardon of Phocion, and raised a statue to his honour. They asked pardon of the six generals, so ridiculously condemned and so basely executed. They confined in chains the principal accuser, who with difficulty escaped from public vengeance. The Athenian people, therefore, appear to have had good natural dispositions, connected as they were with great versatility and frivolity. In what despotic state has the injustice of precipitate decrees ever been thus ingenuously acknowledged and deplored?

Bayle, then, is for this once in the wrong. My republican has reason on his side. Popular government, therefore, is in itself less iniquitous and less abominable than monarchical despotism.*

The great vice of democracy is certainly not tyranny

* Voltaire has stated the fact very fairly: the crimes and injustice of democracy are incidental and acute; those of monarchies, chronic and unavoidable. As to the great bugbear of the French revolution, it has nothing to do with the question.—A sudden change from one kind of government to another, must always be disorderly. When we hear of the injustice and anarchy of democracies, from the partisans of despotism, we are uniformly reminded of the dialogue between the two North Britons in Dr. Moore's *Zeluco*. "If a Scotsman happen to get changed in England, what gibing and jeering at his country-

and cruelty. There have been republicans in mountainous regions wild and ferocious; but they were made so, not by the spirit of republicanism, but by nature. The North American savages were entirely republican; but they were republics of bears.

The radical vice of a civilised republic is expressed by the Turkish fable of the dragon with many heads, and the dragon with many tails. The multitude of heads become injurious, and the multitude of tails obey one single head, which wants to devour all.

Democracy seems to suit only a very small country; and even that fortunately situated.* Small as it may be, it will commit many faults, because it will be composed of men. Discord will prevail in it, as in a convent of monks; but there will be no St. Bartholomews there, no Irish massacre, no Sicilian vespers, no inquisition, no condemnation to the galleys for having taken water from the ocean without paying for it; at least, unless it be a republic of devils, established in some corner of hell.

After having taken the side of my Swiss friend against the dextrous fencing-master, Bayle, I will add:

That the Athenians were warriors like the Swiss, and as polite as the Parisians were under Louis XIV.—

That they excelled in every art requiring genius or execution, like the Florentines in time of the Medici—

That they were the masters of the Romans in the sciences and in eloquence, even in the days of Cicero—

That this same people, insignificant in number, who

men," says one of the parties; "but if the same misfortune befall an Englishman, nothing is said of it." "No to be sure," continues his companion, "that is an affair of course." In a similar manner, the eternal oppression, disorder, and bloodshed incidental to absolute monarchy, are never thought upon in the midst of the most abundant horror of similar iniquity in republics. The comparison between Athens and Macedon is well put; and it would puzzle a Mitford to find an adequate reply to it.—T.

* Happily the United States of America seem likely to controvert this proposition. It has been already remarked, that the genuine theory of representation only *began* to be widely studied in the days of Voltaire.—T.

scarcely possessed anything of territory, and who, at the present day, consist only of a band of ignorant slaves, a hundred times less numerous than the Jews, and deprived of all but their name, yet bear away the palm from Roman power, by their ancient reputation, which triumphs at once over time and degradation.

Europe has seen a republic, ten times smaller than Athens, attract its attention for the space of one hundred and fifty years, and its name placed by the side of that of Rome, even while she still commanded kings; while she condemned one Henry, a sovereign of France, and absolved and scourged another Henry, the first man of his age; even while Venice retained her ancient splendour, and the new republic of the seven United Provinces was astonishing Europe and the Indies, by its successful establishment and extensive commerce.

This almost imperceptible ant-hill could not be crushed by the royal demon of the south, and the monarch of two worlds, nor by the intrigues of the Vatican, which put in motion one half of Europe. It resisted by words and by arms; and with the help of a Picard who wrote, and a small number of Swiss who fought for it, it became at length established and triumphant, and was enabled to say, "Rome and I." She kept all minds divided between the rich pontiffs who succeeded to the Scipios,—*Romanos rerum dominos*,—and the poor inhabitants of a corner of the world long unknown in a country of poverty and *goitres*.*

The main point was, to decide how Europe should think on the subject of certain questions which no one understood. It was the conflict of the human mind. The Calvins, Bezas, and Turetins, were the Demostheneses, Platos, and Aristotles, of the day.

The absurdity of the greater part of the controversial

* The Holy Alliance is another experiment to do that which the demon of the south, that black-hearted assassin and murderer, Philip II. and the executioner Alva, could not accomplish. The result remains to be seen; but we trust that the "demons" both of the south and of the north will ultimately fail in their atrocious conspiracy.—T.

questions which bound down the attention of Europe, having at length been acknowledged, this small republic turned her consideration to what appears of solid consequence—the acquisition of wealth. The system of Law, more chimerical and less baleful than that of the supralapsarians and the sublapsarians, occupied with arithmetical calculations those who could no longer gain celebrity as partisans of the doctrine of crucified divinity. They became rich, but were no longer famous.

It is thought that at present there is no republic, except in Europe. I am mistaken if I have not somewhere made the remark myself; it must, however, have been a great inadvertence. The Spaniards found in America the republic of Tlascala perfectly well established. Every part of that continent, which has not been subjugated, is still republican. In the whole of that vast territory, when it was first discovered, there existed no more than two kingdoms; and this may well be considered as a proof that republican government is the most natural. Men must have obtained considerable refinement, and have tried many experiments, before they submit to the government of a single individual.*

In Africa, the Hottentots, the Caffres, and many communities of negroes, are democracies. It is pretended that the countries in which the greatest part of the negroes are sold, are governed by kings. Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, are republics of soldiers and pirates. There are similar ones in India. The Mah-rattas, and many other Indian hordes, have no kings: they elect chiefs when they go in their expeditions of plunder.

Such are also many of the hordes of Tartars. Even the Turkish empire has long been a republic of janis-

* “Le premier roi fut un soldat heureux.” War clearly led to sovereignty; power, in that case, must be intrusted to individuals, and the step to despotism is of course, or at least such has been the case; it is for improved human nature to prevent its remaining so.—T.

saries, who have frequently strangled their sultan, when their sultan did not decimate them.

We are every day asked, whether a republican or a kingly government is to be preferred? The dispute always ends in agreeing that the government of men is exceedingly difficult. The Jews had God himself for their master; yet observe the events of their history.* They have almost always been trampled upon and enslaved; and, nationally, what a wretched figure do they make at present!

DEMONIACS.

HYPOCHONDRIACAL and epileptic persons, and women labouring under hysterical affections, have always been considered the victims of evil spirits, malignant demons, and divine vengeance. We have seen that this disease was called the sacred disease; and that whilst the physicians were ignorant, the priests of antiquity obtained everywhere the care and management of such diseases.

When the symptoms were very complicated, the patient was supposed to be possessed with many demons—a demon of madness, one of luxury, one of avarice, one of obstinacy, one of shortsightedness, one of deafness; and the exorciser could not easily miss finding a demon of foolery created, with another of knavery.

The Jews expelled devils from the bodies of the possessed by the application of the root barath, and a certain formula of words; our Saviour expelled them by a divine virtue; he communicated that virtue to his apostles, but it is now greatly impaired.

A short time since, an attempt was made to renew the history of St. Paulin. That saint saw on the roof of a church a poor demoniac, who walked under, or

* It may be remarked, also, that God himself declared against monarchy, through his holy prophet Samuel; at least he describes the forthcoming consequences. See 1 Samuel, chap. viii. v. 10 to 17.

rather upon, this roof or cieling, with his head below and his feet above, nearly in the manner of a fly. St. Paulin clearly perceived that the man was possessed, and sent several leagues off for some relics of St. Felix of Nola, which were applied to the patient as blisters. The demon who supported the man against the roof instantly fled, and the demoniac fell down upon the pavement.

We may have doubts about this history, while we preserve the most profound respect for genuine miracles; and we may be permitted to observe, that this is not the way in which we now cure demoniacs. We bleed them, bathe them, and gently relax them by medicine; we apply emollients to them. This is M. Pome's treatment of them; and he has performed more cures than the priests of Isis or Diana, or of any one else who ever wrought by miracles.

As to demoniacs who say they are possessed merely to gain money, instead of being bathed, they are at present flogged.

It often happened, that the specific gravity of epileptics, whose fibres and muscles withered away, was lighter than water, and that they floated when put into it. A miracle! was instantly exclaimed. It was pronounced that such a person must be a demoniac or a sorcerer; and holy water or the executioner was immediately sent for. It was an unquestionable proof that either the demon had become master of the body of the floating person, or that the latter had voluntarily delivered himself over to the demon. On the first supposition the person was exorcised, on the second he was burnt.

Thus have we been reasoning and acting for a period of fifteen or sixteen hundred years, and yet we have the effrontery to laugh at the Caffres!

In 1603, in a small village of Franche-Compté, a woman of quality made her granddaughter read aloud the lives of the saints in the presence of her parents; this young woman, who was in some respects very well informed, but ignorant of orthography, substituted the

word *histories* for that of *lives* (vies). Her step-mother, who hated her, said to her in a tone of harshness, "Why don't you read as it is there?" The girl blushed and trembled, but did not venture to say anything; she wished to avoid disclosing which of her companions had interpreted the word upon a false orthography, and prevented her using it.* A monk, who was the family confessor, pretended that the devil had taught her the word. The girl chose to be silent rather than vindicate herself; her silence was considered as amounting to confession; the inquisition convicted her of having made a compact with the devil: she was condemned to be burnt, because she had a large fortune from her mother, and the confiscated property went by law to the inquisitors. She was the hundred-thousandth victim of the doctrine of demoniacs, persons possessed by devils and exorcisms, and of the real devils who have swayed the world.†

DESTINY.

OF all the books written in the western climes of the world, which have reached our times, Homer is the most ancient. In his works we find the manners of profane antiquity, coarse heroes, and material gods, made after the image of man, but mixed up with reveries and absurdities; we also find the seeds of philosophy, and more particularly the idea of destiny, or necessity, who is the dominatrix of the gods, as the gods are of the world.

When the magnanimous Hector determines to fight the magnanimous Achilles, and runs away with all possible speed, making the circuit of the city three

* The word with a slight variation in the spelling, and a perfect similarity in sound, conveys a meaning which, in the passage she was reading, might to the unhappy girl appear obscene.—T.

† This simple tale in itself is sufficient to prove the existence of the worst of all demons—those of hypocrisy, oppression, fraud, and priestcraft. Attending to the history of the world, ancient and modern, the latter word is more synonymous with murder than any other in the general vocabulary of mankind.—T.

times, in order to increase his vigour; when Homer compares the light-footed Achilles, who pursues him, to a man that is asleep; and when Madame Dacier breaks into a rapture of admiration at the art and meaning exhibited in this passage, it is precisely then that Jupiter, desirous of saving the great Hector who has offered up to him so many sacrifices, bethinks him of consulting the destinies, upon weighing the fates of Hector and Achilles in a balance.* He finds that the Trojan must inevitably be killed by the Greek, and is not only unable to oppose it, but from that moment Apollo, the guardian genius of Hector, is compelled to abandon him. It is not to be denied that Homer is frequently extravagant, and even on this very occasion displays a contradictory flow of ideas, according to the privilege of antiquity; but yet he is the first in whom we meet with the notion of destiny. It may be concluded, then, that in his days it was a prevalent one.

The pharisees, among the small nation of Jews, did not adopt the idea of a destiny till many ages after. For these pharisees themselves, who were the most learned class among the Jews, were but of very recent date. They mixed up, in Alexandria, a portion of the dogmas of the stoics with their ancient Jewish ideas. St. Jerome goes so far as to state, that their sect is but a little anterior to our vulgar era.

Philosophers would never have required the aid of Homer, or of the pharisees, to be convinced that everything is performed according to immutable laws, that everything is ordained, that everything is in fact *necessary*. The manner in which they reason is as follows:—

Either the world subsists by its own nature, by its own physical laws, or a supreme being has formed it according to his supreme laws: in both cases these laws are immoveable; in both cases everything is necessary; heavy bodies tend towards the centre of the earth without having any power or tendency to rest in the air. Pear-trees cannot produce pine-apples. The instinct of a spaniel cannot be the instinct of an ostrich; everything is arranged, adjusted, and fixed.

* Iliad, book xxii.

Man can have only a certain number of teeth, hairs, and ideas; and a period arrives when he necessarily loses his teeth, hair, and ideas.

It is contradictory to say that yesterday should not have been; or that to-day does not exist; it is just as contradictory to assert that which is to come will not inevitably be.

Could you derange the destiny of a single fly there would be no possible reason why you should not control the destiny of all other flies, of all other animals, of all men, of all nature. You would find in fact that you were more powerful than God.

Weak-minded persons say, my physician has brought my aunt safely through a mortal disease; he has added ten years to my aunt's life. Others of more judgment say, the prudent man makes his own destiny.

Nullum numen abest, si sit Prudentia, sed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam cœloque locamus.

JUVENAL, sat. x. v. 365.

We call on Fortune, and her aid implore,
While Prudence is the goddess to adore.

But frequently the prudent man succumbs under his destiny instead of making it; it is destiny which makes men prudent. Profound politicians assure us, that, if Cromwell, Ludlow, Ireton, and a dozen other parliamentary leaders had been assassinated eight days before Charles I. had his head cut off, that king would have continued alive and have died in his bed; they are right; and they may add, that if all England had been swallowed up in the sea, that king would not have perished on a scaffold before Whitehall. But things were so arranged, that Charles was to have his head cut off.

Cardinal d'Ossat was unquestionably more clever, than an idiot of the petites maisons; but is it not evident that the organs of the wise d'Ossat were differently formed from those of that idiot?—Just as the organs of a fox are different from those of a crane or a lark.

Your physician saved your aunt, but in so doing he certainly did not contradict the order of nature, but followed it. It is clear that your aunt could not prevent

her birth in a certain place, that she could not help being affected by a certain malady, at a certain time; that the physician could be in no other place than where he was, that your aunt could not but apply to him, that he could not but prescribe medicines which cured her, or were thought to cure her, while nature was the sole physician.

A peasant thinks that it hailed upon his field by chance; but the philosopher knows that there was no chance, and that it was absolutely impossible, according to the constitution of the world, for it not to have hailed at that very time and place.

There are some who, being shocked by this truth, concede only half of it, like debtors who offer one moiety of their property to their creditors, and ask remission for the other. There are, they say, some events which are necessary, and others which are not so. It would be curious for one part of the world to be changed and the other not; that one part of what happens should happen inevitably, and another fortuitously. When we examine the question closely, we see that the doctrine opposed to that of destiny is absurd; but many men are destined to be bad reasoners, others not to reason at all, and others to persecute those who reason well or ill.

Some caution us by saying, "Do not believe in fatalism, for if you do, everything appearing to you unavoidable; you will exert yourself for nothing; you will sink down in indifference; you will regard neither wealth, nor honours, nor praise; you will be careless about acquiring any thing whatever; you will consider yourself meritless and powerless; no talent will be cultivated, and all will be overwhelmed in apathy."

Do not be afraid, gentlemen; we shall always have passions and prejudices, since it is our destiny to be subjected to prejudices and passions. We shall very well know that it no more depends upon us to have great merit or superior talents than to have a fine head of hair, or a beautiful hand; we shall be convinced that we ought to be vain of nothing, and yet vain we shall always be.

I have necessarily the passion for writing as I now do; and, as for you, you have the passion for censuring me; we are both equally fools, both equally the sport of destiny. Your nature is to do ill, mine is to love truth, and publish it in spite of you.

The owl, while supping upon mice in his ruined tower, said to the nightingale, "Stop your singing there in your beautiful arbour, and come to my hole that I may eat you." The nightingale replied, "I am born to sing where I am, and to laugh at you."*

You ask me what is to become of liberty: I do not understand you; I do not know what the liberty you speak of really is. You have been so long disputing about the nature of it that you do not understand it. If you are willing, or rather, if you are able, to examine with me coolly what it is, turn to the letter L.†

DEVOTEE.

THE word devout (*devot*) signifies devoted (*devoué*), and in the strict sense of the term can only be applicable to monks, and to females belonging to some religious order and under vows. But as the gospel makes no mention of vows or devotees, the title ought not in fact to be given to any person: the whole world ought to be equally just. A man who calls himself devout, is like a plebeian who calls himself a marquis; he arrogates a quality which does not belong to him; he thinks himself a better man than his neighbour. We pardon this folly in women; their weakness and frivolity render them excusable; they pass, poor things, from a lover to a spiritual director with perfect sincerity, but we cannot pardon the knaves who direct them, who abuse their ignorance, and establish the throne of their

* We guess from this passage that Voltaire wrote it when at hide and seek in some of his various skirmishes with power and priesthood.—T.

† A pleasant and popular exposition of the doctrine of necessity, which properly understood forms the foundation of the soundest system of morals; and at once of the most firm and the most feeling and considerative policy.—T.

pride on the credulity of the sex. They form a snug mystical harem, composed of seven or eight elderly beauties subjugated by the weight of inoccupation, and almost all these subjects pay tribute to their new master. No young women without lovers; no elderly devotee without a director.—Oh, how much more shrewd are the orientals than we! A pacha never says,—We supped last night with the agar of the janissaries, who is my sister's lover; and with the vicar of the mosque, who is my wife's director!*

DIAL.

Dial of Ahaz.

It is well known that every thing is miraculous in the history of the Jews; the miracle performed in favour of king Hezekiah on the dial of Ahaz is one of the greatest that ever took place: it is evident that the whole earth must have been deranged, the course of the stars changed for ever, and the periods of the eclipses of the sun and moon so altered as to confuse all the ephemerides. This was the second time the prodigy happened. Joshua had stopped the sun at noon on Gibeon, and the moon on Askalon, in order to get time to kill a troop of Amorites already crushed by a shower of stones from heaven.

The sun, instead of stopping for king Hezekiah, went back, which is nearly the same thing, only differently described.

In the first place Isaiah said to Hezekiah, who was sick, "Thus saith the Lord, set thine house in order; for thou shalt die and not live."

Hezekiah wept and God was softened, he signified to him, through Isaiah, that he should still live fifteen years, and that in three days he should go to the temple; then Isaiah brought a plaster of figs and

* An amusing hit at the construction of French society under the ancient regime, and particularly at that feminine assumption of devotion by females, when *une peu passée*, so pleasantly explained in the Sentimental Journey of Sterne.—T.

put it on the king's ulcers, and he was cured—"et curatus est."

Hezekiah demanded a sign to convince him that he should be cured. Isaiah said to him, "Shall the shadow go forward ten degrees, or go back ten degrees?" And Hezekiah answered, "It is a light thing for the shadow to go down ten degrees; let the shadow return backward ten degrees." And Isaiah the prophet cried unto the Lord, and he brought the shadow ten degrees backwards from the point to which it had gone down on the dial of Ahaz.

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But the grand question is to know how king Hezekiah, the possessor of this clock, or dial of the sun—this hour of the stone,—could tell that it was easy to advance the sun ten degrees. It is certainly as difficult to make it advance against its ordinary motion as to make it go backward.

The proposition of the prophet appears as astonishing as the discourse of the king: Shall the shadow go forward ten degrees, or go back ten degrees? That would have been well said in some town of Lapland, where the longest day of the year is twenty hours; but at Jerusalem, where the longest day of the year is about fourteen hours and a half, it was absurd. The king and the prophet deceived one another grossly. We do not deny the miracle, we firmly believe it; we only remark that Hezekiah and Isaiah knew not what they said. Whatever the hour, it was a thing equally

impossible to make the shadow of the dial advance or recede ten hours. If it were two hours after noon the prophet could, no doubt, have very well made the shadow of the dial go back to four o'clock in the morning; but in this case he could not have advanced it ten hours, since then it would have been midnight, and at that time it is not usual to have a shadow of the sun in perfection.

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THE invention of dictionaries, which was unknown to antiquity, is of the most unquestionable utility; and the Encyclopædia, which was suggested by Messrs. Alembert and Diderot, and so successfully completed by them and their associates, notwithstanding all its defects, is a decisive evidence of it. What we find there under the article **DICTIONARY** would be a sufficient instance; it is done by the hand of a master.

I mean to speak here only of a new species of historical dictionaries, which contain a series of lies and satires in alphabetical order; such is the Historical Literary and Critical Dictionary, containing a summary of the lives of celebrated men of every descrip-

tion, and printed in 1758, in six volumes, 8vo. without the name of the author.

The compilers of that work begin with declaring that it was undertaken by the advice of the author of the Ecclesiastical Gazette, "a formidable writer," they add, "whose arrow," which had already been compared to that of Jonathan, "never returned back, and was always steeped in the blood of the slain, in the carnage of the valiant."—A sanguine interfectorem, ab adipe fortium sagitta Jonathæ nunquam abiit retrorsum.

It will, no doubt, be easily admitted that the connection between Jonathan, the son of Saul, who was killed at the battle of Gilboa, and a Parisian convulsionary who scribbles ecclesiastical notices in his garter, in 1758, is wonderfully striking.

The author of this preface speaks in it of the great Colbert. We should conceive, at first, that the great statesman who conferred such vast benefits on France is alluded to; no such thing, it is a bishop of Montpellier. He complains that no other dictionary has bestowed sufficient praise on the celebrated Abbé d'Asfeld, the illustrious Boursier, the famous Gennes, the immortal La Borde, and that the lash of invective on the other hand has not been sufficiently applied to Lanquet, archbishop of Sens, and a person of the name of Fillot, all, as he pretends, men well known from the Pillars of Hercules to the frozen ocean. He engages to be "animated, energetic, and sarcastic, on a principle of religion; that he will make his countenance sterner than that of his enemies, and his front harder than their front, according to the words of Ezekiel," &c.

He declares that he has put in contribution all the journals and all the anas; and he concludes with hoping that heaven will bestow a blessing on his labours.*

* Cowper humourously alludes to the puddling attempts to immortalize these passing dark lanterns of literature:—

"Oh fond attempt to give the deathless lot
To names ignoble, born to be forgot.

In dictionaries of this description, which are merely party works, we rarely find what we are in quest of, and often what we are not. Under the word *Adonis*, for example, we learn that Venus fell in love with him; but not a word about the worship of Adonis, or Adonai among the Phenicians, nothing about those very ancient and celebrated festivals, those lamentations succeeded by rejoicings which were manifest allegories, like the feasts of Ceres, of Isis, and all the mysteries of antiquity. But, in compensation, we find *Adkichomia* a devotee, who translated David's psalms in the sixteenth century; and *Adkichomus*, apparently her relation, who wrote the life of Jesus Christ in Low-German.

We may well suppose that all the individuals of the faction which employed this person are loaded with praise, and their enemies with abuse. The author, or the crew of authors, who have put together this vocabulary of trash, say of Nicholas Boindin, attorney-general of the treasurers of France, and a member of the Academy of Belles-lettres, that he was a poet and an atheist.

That magistrate, however, never printed any verses, and never wrote anything on metaphysics or religion.

He adds, that Boindin will be ranked by posterity among the Vaninis, the Spinozas, and the Hobbesses. He is ignorant that Hobbes never professed atheism, that he merely subjected religion to the sovereign power, which he denominates the Leviathan. He is ignorant that Vanini was not an atheist; that the term atheist is not to be found even in the decree which condemned him; and that he was accused of impiety for having strenuously opposed the philosophy of Aristotle, and for having disputed with indiscretion and acrimony against a counsellor of the parliament of

Thus when a child, as playful children use,
Has burnt to tinder a stale last year's news;
The flame extinct, he views the roving fire;
There goes my lady, and there goes the squire,
There goes the parson, oh, illustrious spark,
And there scarce less illustrious, goes the clerk." T.

Toulouse, called Francon, or Franconi, who had the credit of getting him burnt to death;—for the latter burn whom they please, witness the maid of Orleans, Michael Servetus, the counsellor Dubourg, the wife of Marshal d'Ancre, Urbain Grandier, Morin, and the books of the jansenists. See, moreover, the apology for Vanini by the learned La Crosse, and the article **ATHEISM**.

The vocabulary treats Boindin as a miscreant; his relations were desirous of proceeding at law, and punishing an author who himself so well deserved the appellation which he so infamously applied to a man who was not merely a magistrate, but also learned and estimable; but the calumniator concealed himself, like most libellers, under a fictitious name.

Immediately after having applied such shameful language to a man respectable compared with himself, he considers him as an irrefragable witness, because Boindin, whose unhappy temper was well known, left an ill-written and exceedingly ill-advised memorial, in which he accuses La Motte, one of the worthiest men in the world, a geometrician, and an ironmonger, with having written the infamous verses for which Jean Baptiste Rousseau was convicted. Finally, in the list of Boindin's works, he altogether omits his excellent dissertations printed in the collection of the Academy of Belles-lettres, of which he was a highly distinguished member.

The article **FONTENELLE** is nothing but a satire upon that ingenious and learned academician, whose science and talents are esteemed by the whole of literary Europe. The author has the effrontery to say that "his History of Oracles does no honour to his religion." If Vandale, the author of the "History of Oracles," and his abridger Fontenelle, had lived in the time of the Greeks and of the Roman republic, it might have been said, with reason, that they were rather good philosophers than good pagans; but, to speak sincerely, what injury do they do to christianity by showing that the pagan priests were a set of

knaves.* Is it not evident, that the authors of the libel, miscalled a Dictionary, are pleading their own cause? "Jam proximus ardet Ucalegon." But would it be offering an insult to the christian religion to prove the knavery of the convulsionaries. Government has done more; it has punished them without being accused of irreligion.

The libeller adds, that he suspects Fontenelle never performed the duties of a christian but out of contempt for christianity itself. It is a strange species of madness on the part of these fanatics to be always proclaiming that a philosopher cannot be a christian. They ought to be excommunicated and punished for this alone; for assuredly it implies a wish to destroy christianity to assert, that it is impossible for a man to be a good reasoner, and at the same time believe a religion so reasonable and holy.

Des Iveteaux, preceptor of Louis XIV. is accused of having lived and died without religion. It seems as if these compilers had none, or at least, as if while violating all the precepts of the true one, they were searching about everywhere for accomplices.

The very gentlemanly writer of these articles is wonderfully pleased with exhibiting all the bad verses that

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have been written on the French Academy, and various anecdotes as ridiculous as they are false. This also is apparently out of zeal for religion.

I ought not to lose an opportunity of refuting an absurd story which has been much circulated, and which is repeated exceedingly mal-à-propos under the article of the ABBÉ GÉDOUIN, upon whom the writer falls foul with great satisfaction, because in his youth he had been a jesuit; a transient weakness, of which I know he repented all his life.

The devout and scandalous compiler of the Dictionary asserts, that the Abbé Gédouin slept with the celebrated Ninon l'Enclos on the very night of her completing her eightieth year. It certainly was not exactly befitting in a priest to relate this anecdote in a pretended Dictionary of illustrious mén. Such a foolery, however, is in fact highly improbable; and I can take upon me to assert that nothing can be more false. The same anecdote was formerly put down to the credit of the Abbé de Chateauneuf, who was not very difficult in his amours, and who, it was said, had received Ninon's favours when she was of the age of sixty, or rather, had conferred upon her his own. In early life I saw a great deal of the Abbé Gédouin, the Abbé Chateauneuf, and Mademoiselle l'Enclos; and I can truly declare, that at the age of eighty years her countenance bore the most hideous marks of old age, that her person was afflicted with all the infirmities belonging to that stage of life, and that her mind was under the influence of the maxims of an austere philosophy.

Under the article DESHOULIÈRES the compiler pretends that that lady was the same who was designated under the term *prude* (*precieuse*) in Boileau's satire upon women. Never was any woman more free from such weakness than Madame Deshoulières: she always passed for a woman of the best society, possessed great simplicity, and was highly agreeable in conversation.

The article LA MORTE abounds with atrocious abuse of that academician, who was a man of very amiable manners, and a philosophic poet, who produced excel-

least works of every description. Finally, the author, in order to secure the sale of his book of six volumes, has made of it a slanderous libel.

His hero is Carré de Montgeron, who presented to the king a collection of the miracles performed by the convulsionaries in the cemetery of St. Medard; who became mad and died insane.

The interest of the republic of literature and reason, demands that those libellers should be delivered up to public indignation, lest their example operating upon the sordid love of gain, should stimulate others to imitation; and the more so, as nothing is so easy as to copy books in alphabetical order, and add to them insipidities, calumnies, and abuse.

Extract from the Reflections of an Academician on the Dictionary of the French Academy.

It would be desirable to state the natural and incontestable etymology of every word, to compare the application, the various significations, the extent of the word, with the use of it; the different acceptations, the strength or weakness of correspondent terms in foreign languages; and finally, to quote the best authors who have used the word, to show the greater or less extent of meaning which they have given to it, and to remark whether it is more fit for poetry than prose.

For example, I have observed that the inclemency of the weather is ridiculous in history, because that term has its origin in the anger of heaven, which is supposed to be manifested by the intemperateness, irregularities, and rigours of the seasons, by the violence of the cold, the disorder of the atmosphere, by tempests, storms, and pestilential exhalations, &c. Thus then inclemency, being a metaphor, is consecrated to poetry.

I have given to the word impotence all the acceptations which it receives. I showed the incorrectness of the historian, who speaks of the impotence of king Alphonso; without explaining whether he referred to that of resisting his brother, or that with which he was charged by his wife.

I have endeavoured to show that the epithets irre-

sistible and *incurable* require very delicate management. The first who used the expression the *irresistible impulse of genius*, made a very fortunate hit, because, in fact, the question was in relation to a great genius throwing itself upon its own resources in spite of all difficulties. Those imitators who have employed the expression in reference to very inferior men, are plagiarists who know not how to dispose of what they steal.

As soon as a man of genius has made a new application of any word in the language, copyists are not wanting to apply it, very mal-à-propos, in twenty places, without giving the inventor any credit.

I do not know that a single one of these words, termed by Boileau foundling (*des mots trouvés*), a single new expression of genius, is to be found in any tragic author since Racine, until within the last few years. These words are generally lax, ineffective, stale, and so ill placed, as to produce a barbarous style. To the disgrace of the nation, these Visigothic and Vandal productions were for a certain time extolled, panegyricised, and admired in the journals, especially as they came out under the protection of a certain lady of distinction,* who knew nothing at all about the subject. We have recovered from all this now; and, with one or two exceptions, the whole race of such productions is extinct for ever.

I did not in the first instance intend to make all these reflections, but to put the reader in a situation to make them.

I have shown at the letter E that our *e* mute, which we are reproached with by an Italian, is precisely what occasions the delicious harmony of our language: *empire, couronne, diadème, épouvantable, sensible*. This *e* mute, which we make perceptible without articulating it, leaves in the ear a melodious sound like that of a

* This seems to refer to the Catiline of Crebillon, and to Madame Pompadour, whom the enemies of Voltaire had instigated to favour the success of that ill-written tragedy.—*French Editor*.

What would Voltaire have said of the Catiline of Croly?—T.

bell, which still resounds although it is no longer struck. This we have already stated in respect to an Italian, a man of letters, who came to Paris to teach his own language, and who while there ought not to decry ours.

He does not perceive the beauty or necessity of our feminine rhymes: they are only *e's* mute. This interweaving of masculine and feminine rhymes constitutes the charm of our verse.

Similar observations upon the alphabet, and upon words generally, would not have been without utility, but they would have made the work too long.*

DIOCLESIAN.

AFTER several weak or tyrannic reigns, the Roman empire had a good emperor in Probus, whom the legions massacred, and elected Carus, who was struck dead by lightning, while making war against the Persians. His son Numerian was proclaimed by the soldiers. The historians tell us seriously that he lost his sight by weeping for the death of his father, and that he was obliged to be carried along with the army shut up in a close litter. His father-in-law Aper killed him in his bed, to place himself on the throne; but a druid had predicted in Gaul to Dioclesian, one of the generals of the army, that he would become emperor after having killed a boar. A boar, in Latin, is *aper*. Dioclesian assembled the army, killed Aper with his own hands in the presence of the soldiers, and thus accomplished the prediction of the druid. The historians who relate this oracle deserve to be fed on the fruit of the tree which the druids revered. It is certain that Dioclesian killed the father-in-law of the emperor, which was his first right to the throne. Numerian had a brother named Carinus, who was also emperor, but being opposed to the elevation of Dioclesian, he was killed by one of the tribunes of

* The interest of much of this article is almost exclusively French; but the vein of general observation mixed up with it was not to be sacrificed.—T.

put it on the king's ulcers, and he was cured—"et curatus est."

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have been written on the French Academy, and various anecdotes as ridiculous as they are false. This also is apparently out of zeal for religion.

I ought not to lose an opportunity of refuting an absurd story which has been much circulated, and which is repeated exceedingly mal-à-propos under the article of the **ABBE GEDOUIN**, upon whom the writer falls foul with great satisfaction, because in his youth he had been a jesuit; a transient weakness, of which I know he repented all his life.

The devout and scandalous compiler of the Dictionary asserts, that the Abbé Gédouin slept with the celebrated Ninon l'Enclos on the very night of her completing her eightieth year. It certainly was not exactly befitting in a priest to relate this anecdote in a pretended Dictionary of illustrious mén. Such a foolery, however, is in fact highly improbable; and I can take upon me to assert that nothing can be more false. The same anecdote was formerly put down to the credit of the Abbé de Chateauneuf, who was not very difficult in his amours, and who, it was said, had received Ninon's favours when she was of the age of sixty, or rather, had conferred upon her his own. In early life I saw a great deal of the Abbé Gedouin, the Abbé Chateauneuf, and Mademoiselle l'Enclos; and I can truly declare, that at the age of eighty years her countenance bore the most hideous marks of old age, that her person was afflicted with all the infirmities belonging to that stage of life, and that her mind was under the influence of the maxims of an austere philosophy.

Under the article **DESHOULIERES** the compiler pretends that that lady was the same who was designated under the term *prude* (*precieuse*) in Boileau's satire upon women. Never was any woman more free from such weakness than Madame Deshoulières: she always passed for a woman of the best society, possessed great simplicity, and was highly agreeable in conversation.

The article **LA MORTE** abounds with atrocious abuse of that academician, who was a man of very amiable manners, and a philosophic poet, who produced excel-

lent works of every description. Finally, the author, in order to secure the sale of his book of six volumes, has made of it a slanderous libel.

His hero is Carré de Montgeron, who presented to the king a collection of the miracles performed by the convulsionaries in the cemetery of St. Medard; who became mad and died insane.

The interest of the republic of literature and reason, demands that those libellers should be delivered up to public indignation, lest their example operating upon the sordid love of gain, should stimulate others to imitation; and the more so, as nothing is so easy as to copy books in alphabetical order, and add to them insipidities, calumnies, and abuse.

Extract from the Reflections of an Academician on the Dictionary of the French Academy.

It would be desirable to state the natural and incontestable etymology of every word, to compare the application, the various significations, the extent of the word, with the use of it; the different acceptations, the strength or weakness of correspondent terms in foreign languages; and finally, to quote the best authors who have used the word, to show the greater or less extent of meaning which they have given to it, and to remark whether it is more fit for poetry than prose.

For example, I have observed that the inclemency of the weather is ridiculous in history, because that term has its origin in the anger of heaven, which is supposed to be manifested by the intemperateness, irregularities, and rigours of the seasons, by the violence of the cold, the disorder of the atmosphere, by tempests, storms, and pestilential exhalations, &c. Thus then inclemency, being a metaphor, is consecrated to poetry.

I have given to the word impotence all the acceptations which it receives. I showed the incorrectness of the historian, who speaks of the impotence of king Alphonso; without explaining whether he referred to that of resisting his brother, or that with which he was charged by his wife.

I have endeavoured to show that the epithets irre-

sistible and *incurable* require very delicate management. The first who used the expression the *irresistible impulse of genius*, made a very fortunate hit, because, in fact, the question was in relation to a great genius throwing itself upon its own resources in spite of all difficulties. Those imitators who have employed the expression in reference to very inferior men, are plagiarists who know not how to dispose of what they steal.

As soon as a man of genius has made a new application of any word in the language, copyists are not wanting to apply it, very *mal-à-propos*, in twenty places, without giving the inventor any credit.

I do not know that a single one of these words, termed by Boileau foundling (*des mots trouvés*), a single new expression of genius, is to be found in any tragic author since Racine, until within the last few years. These words are generally lax, ineffective, stale; and so ill placed, as to produce a barbarous style. To the disgrace of the nation, these Visigothic and Vandal productions were for a certain time extolled, panegyrised, and admired in the journals, especially as they came out under the protection of a certain lady of distinction,* who knew nothing at all about the subject. We have recovered from all this now; and, with one or two exceptions, the whole race of such productions is extinct for ever.

I did not in the first instance intend to make all these reflections, but to put the reader in a situation to make them.

I have shown at the letter E that our *e* mute, which we are reproached with by an Italian, is precisely what occasions the delicious harmony of our language: *empire, couronne, diadème, épouvantable, sensible*. This *e* mute, which we make perceptible without articulating it, leaves in the ear a melodious sound like that of a

* This seems to refer to the Catiline of Crébillon, and to Madame Pompadour, whom the enemies of Voltaire had instigated to favour the success of that ill-written tragedy.—*French Editor*.

What would Voltaire have said of the Catiline of Croly?—T.

bell, which still resounds although it is no longer struck. This we have already stated in respect to an Italian, a man of letters, who came to Paris to teach his own language, and who while there ought not to decry ours.

He does not perceive the beauty or necessity of our feminine rhymes: they are only *e's* mute. This interweaving of masculine and feminine rhymes constitutes the charm of our verse.

Similar observations upon the alphabet, and upon words generally, would not have been without utility, but they would have made the work too long.*

DIOCLESIAN.

AFTER several weak or tyrannic reigns, the Roman empire had a good emperor in Probus, whom the legions massacred, and elected Carus, who was struck dead by lightning, while making war against the Persians. His son Numerian was proclaimed by the soldiers. The historians tell us seriously that he lost his sight by weeping for the death of his father, and that he was obliged to be carried along with the army shut up in a close litter. His father-in-law Aper killed him in his bed, to place himself on the throne; but a druid had predicted in Gaul to Dioclesian, one of the generals of the army, that he would become emperor after having killed a boar. A boar, in Latin, is *aper*. Dioclesian assembled the army, killed Aper with his own hands in the presence of the soldiers, and thus accomplished the prediction of the druid. The historians who relate this oracle deserve to be fed on the fruit of the tree which the druids revered. It is certain that Dioclesian killed the father-in-law of the emperor, which was his first right to the throne. Numerian had a brother named Carinus, who was also emperor, but being opposed to the elevation of Dioclesian, he was killed by one of the tribunes of

* The interest of much of this article is almost exclusively French; but the vein of general observation mixed up with it was not to be sacrificed.—T.

408 DIONYSIUS, ST. (THE AREOPAGITE.)

pretended that two historians, the one named Phlegon, and the other Thallus, had made mention of this miraculous eclipse.* Eusebius of Cæsarea quotes Phlegon, but we have none of his works now existing. He said, (at least it is pretended so) that this eclipse happened in the fourth year of the two hundredth olympiad, which would be the eighteenth year of Tiberius's reign. There are several versions of this anecdote; we distrust them all and should much more so, if it were possible to know whether they reckoned by olympiads in the time of Phlegon, which is very doubtful.

This important calculation interested all the astronomers. Hodgson, Whiston, Gale, Maurice, and the famous Halley, demonstrated that there was no eclipse of the sun in this first year; but that on the 24th of November, in the year of the hundred and second olympiad, an eclipse took place which obscured the sun for two minutes, at a quarter past one, at Jerusalem.

It has been carried still farther: a jesuit, named Greslon, pretended that the Chinese preserved in their annals the account of an eclipse which happened near that time, contrary to the order of nature. They desired the mathematicians of Europe to make a calculation of it; it was pleasant enough to desire the astronomers to calculate an eclipse which was not natural. Finally it was discovered, that the Chinese annals do not in any way speak of this eclipse.

It appears from the history of St. Dionysius the areopagite, the passage from Phlegon, and from the letter of the jesuit Greslon, that men like to impose upon one another. But this prodigious multitude of lies, far from harming the christian religion, only serves, on the contrary, to show its divinity, since it is more confirmed every day in spite of them.

* See ECLIPSE.

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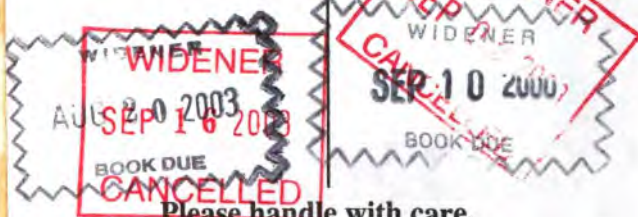
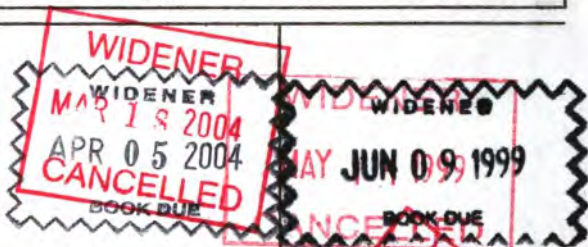




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